

JPRS 68457

7 January 1977

TRANSLATIONS ON EASTERN EUROPE
POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL, AND MILITARY AFFAIRS
No. 1340

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BIBLIOGRAPHIC DATA SHEET	1. Report No. JPRS 68457	2.	3. Recipient's Accession No.																		
	4. Title and Subtitle TRANSLATIONS ON EASTERN EUROPE - POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL, AND MILITARY AFFAIRS, No. 1340		5. Report Date 7 January 1977																		
7. Author(s)		8. Performing Organization Rept. No.	6.																		
9. Performing Organization Name and Address Joint Publications Research Service 1000 North Glebe Road Arlington, Virginia 22201		10. Project/Task/Work Unit No.	11. Contract/Grant No.																		
12. Sponsoring Organization Name and Address As above		13. Type of Report & Period Covered	14.																		
15. Supplementary Notes																					
16. Abstracts The serial report contains articles on official party and government pronouncements and writings on significant domestic political developments; information on general sociological problems and developments in such areas as demography, manpower, public health and welfare, education, and mass organizations; and articles on military and civil defense, organization, theory, budgets, and hardware.																					
17. Key Words and Document Analysis. 17a. Descriptors																					
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17b. Identifiers/Open-Ended Terms																					
17c. COSATI Field/Group 5D, 5K, 15																					
18. Availability Statement Unlimited Availability Sold by NTIS Springfield, Virginia 22151		19. Security Class (This Report) UNCLASSIFIED	21. No. of Pages 79																		
		20. Security Class (This Page) UNCLASSIFIED	22. Price																		

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CONTENTS

PAGE

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

Inevitable Rapprochement of Socialist Countries Analyzed
(Joachim Krueger; DEUTSCHE AUSSENPOLITIK, Dec 76)..... 1

Briefs
Journalists Protocols 11

ALBANIA

ERRATUM..... 12

EAST GERMANY

Politburo Report to Fourth SED CC Plenum Read by Dohlus
(NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 9 Dec 76)..... 13

Deputy Defense Minister Speaks at SED CC Plenum
(Waldemar Verner; NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 11-12 Dec 76).... 38

Schuerer at SED CC Plenum on New Economic Plans
(Gerhard Schuerer; NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 10 Dec 76)..... 43

Briefs
TV Agreement With France 55

HUNGARY

Characteristics of Religious Newspapers Described
(THE NEW HUNGARIAN QUARTERLY, Autumn 1976)..... 56

Nemeth Comments on Changing Economic Conditions
(Karoly Nemeth; THE NEW HUNGARIAN QUARTERLY,
Winter 1976)..... 64

Agriculture Minister Addresses Cooperatives Congress
(MTI, 15 Dec 76)..... 73

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

INEVITABLE RAPPROCHEMENT OF SOCIALIST COUNTRIES ANALYZED

East Berlin DEUTSCHE AUSSENPOLITIK in German Vol 21 No 12, Dec 76 signed to press 29 Oct 76 pp 1774-1785

[Article by Prof Dr Joachim Krueger, Institute for International Relations, GDR Academy of Political Science and Jurisprudence, Potsdam-Babelsberg; board of editors, DEUTSCHE AUSSENPOLITIK: "The Rapprochement of the Socialist Countries as Inevitable Development"]

[Text] The Ninth SED Congress dealt with the further advances of the GDR in shaping the developed socialist society inevitably connected as they are with the growth processes in socialist society and, accordingly, focused on concrete tasks as well. The Party Congress testified to the SED's consistently continuing, true to proletarian internationalism, the course of firmly anchoring the GDR in the community of the socialist states in firm alliance with the USSR. The inevitable developments in the socialist world are gaining ever greater importance to continuing the shaping of socialist society in the GDR.

The new program issued by the Ninth SED Congress proceeds from the GDR's irrevocable membership in world socialism and explains the inseparable connection between the development of socialist society and that of each individual socialist country. The program calls the steady rapprochement of the socialist peoples and states an inevitable historical process. This process of rapprochement of the socialist nations "will advance further due to their economic, political and spiritual interests and their friendship and all round cooperation."¹

The rapprochement, as an inevitable development of the socialist world system, is consciously being enforced today within the socialist community by the Marxist-Leninist parties and governments of the individual countries. It is an objective inevitability in terms of which the socialist world develops, represented by all the different sides or elements within the general inevitable development of world socialism, those of the socialist internationalization of all social life. The objective conditions for these inevitabilities arose with the emergence of the socialist world system itself. Then already the process of the socialist internationalization of social life set in, implying the inevitable rapprochement among the peoples and nations. On the long historical path leading to the ultimate merging of peoples and

nations, which V. I. Lenin predicted, that rapprochement is today becoming ever more prominent under the socialist society's developmental conditions. It is becoming ever more urgent for the socialist countries to look at all essential tasks of their internal development and of the formation of their cooperation from the vantage point of what is required for their rapprochement, to approach them accordingly and directly take on the assignment of carrying them out more and more.

The Socialist Society on a United Course

Recent party congresses of the Marxist-Leninist parties in the fraternal socialist countries have given much attention in issuing guidelines for social development to the inevitable rapprochement. Underscoring the importance of economic rapprochement, for example, G. Husak declared at the 15th CPCZ Congress in April 1976: "The gradual rapprochement of the socialist countries is becoming more and more of an inevitable development for the socialist community."²

The First Secretary of the MPRP Central Committee likewise, at the 17th MPRP Congress in June 1976, stressed the "the increasing all round rapprochement of the socialist countries" and also defined it as an inevitable development of the socialist world system.³ A resolution of the Seventh PZPR Congress makes a point of the beneficial effect the rapprochement has on the consolidation of the unity and friendship among the peoples of the community.⁴ At the 11th BCP Congress, Todor Zhivkov placed special emphasis on the course of "the ever more complete and close rapprochement" between Bulgaria and the USSR.⁵ The political orientation of the countries of the socialist community rests on the firm determination to enforce ever more consciously this objectively conditioned inevitability that has arisen from the internationalist nature of the socialist social system, as its foundations, prerequisites and effective conditions have further developed.

Already in the '60's, the materialization of this inevitability moved more strongly into the center of the efforts the fraternal socialist countries were making and of their joint approach in developing the socialist community. Even then the target of their rapprochement was included in the friendship, cooperation and mutual assistance treaties among them. In article 4 of the 6 May 1970 treaty, the USSR and the CSSR took on the obligation "to encourage a progressive expansion of cooperation and direct relations between the government organs and among the social organizations of the working people with the aim of becoming better acquainted and of the rapprochement between the peoples in both states." In article 3 of their 7 April 1967 treaty, Poland and Bulgaria likewise set down the goal of a further rapprochement between both peoples. And particular aspects of the rapprochement were also stressed in these treaties. In their 12 May 1967 treaty, for example, the USSR and Bulgaria made a special point of the cultural rapprochement in process. Also the aspect of economic rapprochement crystallized in these treaties. In article 2 of their 1 March 1967 treaty, Poland and the CSSR agreed to develop their economic and scientific-technical cooperation aiming

at the "mutual rapprochement of both states' economies." Also in the GDR treaties of the '60's, the rapprochement furnished the orientation, as it did in the treaties mentioned among other fraternal countries, for cooperation in the economic and cultural field as for the relationship among the peoples in general. In article 8 of the 12 June 1964 treaty with the USSR, both sides commit themselves to insuring a "maximum degree of productivity" through the rapprochement of both states' national economies.

More than 10 years of results and experiences with the deliberate enforcement of the rapprochement among the socialist peoples and states form the basis for the stronger efforts and orientations in which the socialist community is engaged today toward its still broader enforcement. In parallel with it, social scientists in the socialist countries, especially in the USSR, engaged in the last decade in a broad discussion of the inevitable development of world socialism and in a theoretical elaboration of those practical processes.⁶ It can be said today with certainty that this rapprochement is a complicated process working out social developmental laws within the socialist states as well as within the framework of the entire socialist world system as a social organism. It is objectively conditioned and proceeding that way. At the same time it is a development process of the socialist world system turning it into a community of the socialist states which is shaped by the deliberate actions on the part of the communist and workers parties. In this process, the internal development in each socialist country combines ever more closely with that in all others and with the all round cooperation among the socialist countries. Rapprochement among the socialist countries means much more therefore and entails much more than what the nature and objective of their cooperation in the various fields of public life amounts to. The status report to the 25th CPSU Congress stated about this: "With the blossoming of every socialist nation and the strengthening of the sovereignty in the socialist states, their mutual relations are becoming ever closer, more and more common elements in policy, economy and public life emerge, and the levels of development are gradually becoming more and more alike. This process of the gradual rapprochement among the socialist countries today emerges most clearly as an inevitable development."⁷

Here the inseparable connection between internal processes in each socialist country and those in the socialist world system are underscored and are combined with the rapprochement.

Rapprochement Through the Blossoming of the Socialist Nations

The process of rapprochement becomes prominent as the new social order develops in each and every socialist country. Whereas in capitalism identical socioeconomic development does not suspend the deep antagonism in the capitalist states, the internationalist nature of the socialist social order at once also forms the objective foundation for its union, rapprochement and unity. The SED program states: "The blossoming of the socialist nation is connected with its rapprochement with the other nations of the socialist community." For that reason the program further sets down this: "The SED systematically guides the process of the further development of the socialist nation in the GDR, its blossoming on the social foundations of socialism and its rapprochement with the other socialist nations."⁸

On the basis of the universal inevitabilities of socialist construction and of the developed socialist society, first worked out and tested in the Soviet Union, the creativity and capability of the socialist nations are blossoming today in the community of the fraternal countries. Its states have formed as internationally recognized, effective and strong factors of peace and social progress. For the first time throughout the long history of their peoples do they occupy that kind of a position and can they exercise that kind of international influence. While all sides of the internationalist social order are forming today more and more comprehensively in the fraternal countries, in the implementation of identical inevitabilities yet with consideration to the conditions of each individual country, this identical social order is becoming still more alike substantively, in all its aspects, on the basis of the socialist property in the means of production and of working class rule on behalf of all the people. It does not thereby lose its manifold forms, but they also develop further. Today, when the construction or the perfecting of the developed socialist society is the people's ongoing task in the socialist community, all the elements these states have had in common since the dictatorship of the proletariat was established significantly expand and increase and become more pronounced in political, economic and public life.

This process of inevitable development is consciously reflected, above all, in the objectives discussed and decided on in the recent party congresses of the communist and workers parties. Thus the decisions of the Ninth SED Congress on shaping the developed socialist society in the GDR also proceed from the inevitabilities governing it. They deliberately and purposefully are assigning the tasks to be solved as a component of the process of rapprochement with the other fraternal socialist countries. Essential areas of common development are the continuation of the policy of the main task on the basis of the unity of economic and social policy and the intensification as basic orientation of economic development, which is in progress also in other socialist countries.

Special attention is given in the countries of the socialist community to strengthening the role of the working class in all domains of public life and to its further qualitative and quantitative development. The same is true of the growing role of the Marxist-Leninist parties and of the socialist state. All this does not merely amount to formally equating the various means and methods used for coping with these tasks in the countries of the socialist community. It rather is a matter of giving the same content to the social processes, which could not, or should not even, be identical in their sequence and scope. With the further shaping of mature socialism in the fraternal countries, the common features of this phase in the forming of the communist society broaden.

Looking closely at the internal development of the socialist countries, it becomes clear at once that from the very beginning -- and this is more so even today -- this has never amounted to processes that were isolated from the development of the other socialist states. The degree of internationalization taken over from the past epoch of capitalism and the socialist

internationalization in progress today express themselves in various combinations and reciprocities in the various domains of public life, especially in the economy. That is increasingly and more and more decisively being affected by the continuous political contacts and the relations between the fraternal countries.

The socialist countries' internal development includes the internationalization and the creative application of the experiences of all socialist countries. As all other processes too, it is borne by the cooperation of the fraternal parties.

"The creative application of the collective experiences of world socialism by the fraternal parties is an unalterable law for the further successful development of each socialist country."⁹

On the basis of bilateral working plans, the parties are sending out student delegations, consultation groups and lecturers fostering the reciprocal exchange of experience. Similar procedures have developed between the ministries and other state organs. The direct exchange of experiences among the working people and among labor and enterprise collectives has considerably increased in recent years and makes itself felt more strongly at this time. The complex program decided on in 1971 on the further deepening and perfecting of cooperation and the development of the socialist integration of the CEMA member countries provided for mutual consultations on basic issues of economic policy, and they serve the same aim. The substance of these consultations was defined therein in greater detail than in any other collective document of the states of the socialist community before that. They are meant to be carried out systematically. On that basis, accords, outlines of precise procedural steps and other joint documents are then to be drafted and agreed upon.¹⁰

The internationalization of the experiences is an indispensable prerequisite for the materialization of the universal inevitabilities governing the developed socialist society in each country. This also demonstrates the inseparable connection between internal processes and the cooperation among the socialist countries.

Rapprochement Through Cooperation

Surely it also is correct to define the all round cooperation among the socialist countries as another aspect of their inevitable rapprochement. This cooperation connects the substantively parallel developmental processes in the various countries with one another. That produces an expansion and more comprehensive safeguards, as it were, for these internal processes and strengthens the intensity of their reciprocal relations. Connected with one another objectively in any case, these developments are then formed by means of conscious cooperation and can then no longer be implemented in any other way. The mutual interpenetration between internal development and cooperation, the internationalization of the internal processes, has now reached a considerable scope. Thus rapprochement proceeds also as an intensification of all sides of the cooperation among the fraternal socialist countries. A greater degree of identical and joint activities is what this side of rapprochement amounts to.

More and more areas of internal development are being drawn into this cooperation, and the cooperation itself is being deepened. The speed and scope of this differ in the various segments and on the various levels. Today it is becoming ever more possible, and altogether indispensable, for all kinds of contacts and relations between the socialist countries to be consciously formed with the goal of rapprochement in mind.

The policy of the socialist countries conspicuously demonstrates this. In economic and scientific-technical cooperation, this process of rapprochement has progressed the farthest. And that is why the SED program states: "The CEMA member countries' socialist economic integration is the firm foundation for steadily perfecting the cooperation and systematic rapprochement among the socialist nations in all areas of public life."¹¹

The process of rapprochement lends socialist economic integration the most emphatic impulses altogether. Here rapprochement is most effectively and extensively being developed in the decisive public domain and bears fruit. In pursuit of the implementation of the main task of the complex program, an ever more extensive interlinking of the economies of the CEMA member countries comes about. Joint efforts on behalf of the fulfillment of important economic tasks are increasing. The CEMA states are more and more intensively working together toward coordinating their economic plans. With the plan for joint integration measures and for assigning appropriate national planning sectors, issued for the first time for the years 1976 to 1980, essential steps of rapprochement in the economic field have been taken. They are confirmed, day after day, by the effectuation of various measures in cooperation and production specialization, in the joint reconstruction of enterprises and the activities of international economic organizations and economic associations on a bilateral or multilateral basis. Through the elaboration agreed upon of long-range programs for energy, fuel and raw material supplies, the development of machine construction, meeting the demands for the main foodstuffs and industrial consumer commodities, as well as the modernization of transportation, a qualitatively new step has been initiated for economic rapprochement and for expanding the material base of the entire process of rapprochement. Further developments in the various states and socialist economic integration have already to a large extent entered today into an indissoluble relationship.

The spiritual-cultural cooperation among the fraternal countries likewise is already a well developed component of the process of rapprochement. Intensive reciprocal influences and the fruitful reciprocal enrichment of the socialist national cultures have expanded the process of their gradual rapprochement. Based on the implementation of the cultural revolution in each socialist country, the conditions are growing for intensifying the cooperation in the spiritual-cultural field.

"International cultural development grows into international rapprochement and its international rapprochement, into national development."¹²

That has nothing to do with any international "leveling" of the socialist national cultures, but it embraces the ever more broadly unique and unmistakable contributions each country makes to a socialist world culture.¹³

The cooperation in the foreign policy field has taken on for quite some time the character of a permanent coordination of the peace policy. It proceeds on the basis of a joint strategic conception and has become an ever more effective international factor that significantly influences the progress and directions in the development of world policy. Here the process of rapprochement, based on identical interests by the fraternal socialist countries, has advanced far. The signs of the effectiveness of the Warsaw Pact organization are the identical assessment of world politics, the concerted determination of the main trends in the foreign policy of the individual participating states and the coordinated procedures for causing them to materialize.

For the foreign policy substance, targets and tasks, the SED program sets down the priority "to consolidate the unity, cohesion and all round cooperation of the socialist states and to foster their friendship and continuing rapprochement."¹⁴ The whole foreign policy of the GDR focuses on working together with the socialist countries in all questions of world policy.

The cooperation among the socialist countries also includes the collaboration with the Soviet Army, the mightiest military power of the peace forces today, and the coordinated and complementary development of the various arms and services of the armies. The united armed forces of the Warsaw Pact organization insure the reliable protection of all participating countries. The comradeship in arms among the members of the friendly armies is an essential component of their socialist patriotism.

The process of the all round cooperation of the socialist countries is characterized today by the ever growing direct participation by the working people themselves. The parties and social organizations have developed firm tasks and forms for their cooperation. Also in the field of tourism partly considerable changes have occurred with the expansion of massive contacts among the working people of the fraternal countries.

Rapprochement Through Assimilating Levels of Development

The gradual assimilation of the developmental levels of the socialist countries must be understood as another aspect of the process of rapprochement. That is the process in which the less developed fraternal countries reach the status of the already more advanced fraternal countries that have a developed socialist society, while all advance together toward creating the preconditions for the second phase of communist society and for a general elevation of the economic level and economic strength of the socialist community. Through creating the socialist property and production relations in the socialist countries, the most fundamental and profound assimilation took place. A homogeneous socioeconomic structure was generated in socialist society which, for all intents and purposes, has now been brought to a

conclusion. The share of the socialist sector in national revenue and basic public assets has been largely adjusted. The point has been, for most countries that started constructing socialism after 1945, to overcome their agrarian nature and be changed into modern industrial states. All European CEMA member countries are industrial or industrial-agrarian states today.¹⁵

The assimilation process also extends to the reproduction structure and the technical-economic structure in the socialist countries' economy. Here considerable advances have also been made. Through the general, steady growth of national revenue in all European CEMA countries the difference between the highest and lowest state of national revenue produced per capita diminishes. Clearly diminishing also are the differences among the CEMA countries in the volume of gross production per capita in industry and agriculture, in the foreign trade volume and so forth. Early in the '70's, the assimilation process in national revenue per capita was accelerated.

The head of the state planning administration in Hungary, J. Huszar, has correctly pointed out that the economic assimilation process has basically already gone through the phase of creating new production capacities, of socialist integration, in all European CEMA countries. The greatest differences today exist in the area of the effectiveness of social production. Now the improvement of the effectiveness and specialization of the economy in all countries focuses on the efforts by the individual countries and by the community. That is today "the elemental prerequisite for the assimilation," J. Huszar says.¹⁶ For that reason the SED and other fraternal parties in the socialist countries have turned intensification into the centerpiece of their efforts on behalf of the further development of their economies, which begins to play an ever increasing role for the materialization of socialist economic integration. The analysis made in October 1976 at the 78th CEMA executive committee session, of the gradual rapprochement and assimilation of the economic development levels of the CEMA member countries in the period from 1960 to 1975, illuminates the dynamic development of this process and can play an important role in the orchestration of the target programs on cooperation that were decided on.

The assimilation process also extends to all other areas of public life, while the decisive bases, processes and impulses develop in the material sphere of course. It grows out of the totality of the further development of socialist society in the various countries. It includes the growth of the working class and its growing proportion in the total population of each state. It includes the composition of the working class and its experiences with modern large-scale industrial production. It includes the processes of urbanization and the assimilation of rural and urban living conditions. Assimilation thus is an "objective historical development process of the socialist world system."¹⁷

The example of the assimilation of the economic development levels points to the fact that this involves a long-range historical process in which the fundamental changes in each case require whole five-year plan periods.¹⁸

It would take time intervals and dimensions like that for being able clearly to make out the effects that are wanted. No country can accomplish such a large reduction of differences within a year or two. Quite large deviations are often possible here in one direction or another, since a great number of factors can affect the assimilation process, as they result from the particular circumstances and developmental conditions in any given country. Nor does the assimilation process lead to some uniformity among the socialist countries -- as the enemies of socialism claim it does -- or to some hackneyed kind of homogeneity or, worse, to cutting down the tempo of development. It is rather that the assimilation presupposes a greater speed in development for those countries that are most remote from the farthest developed countries. It amounts to a process of assimilation of all public spheres which, due to specific conditions, cannot develop evenly even in the more highly industrialized states.

The characteristic feature of the inevitable assimilation process in our time is the fact that it has the effect of consolidating the unity and cohesion of the socialist countries. The all round rallying of the socialist countries around the USSR is of special importance in this. The main power of world socialism has the most extensive potentials for enforcing and accelerating this process. It has the richest experiences, most developed social conditions and greatest possibilities for it. That is why the rapprochement in particular is a rapprochement of all socialist countries with the USSR.

The SED has in its program placed that course in the center of the orientation on the GDR contribution to the materialization of the rapprochement process. All fundamental tasks in the shaping of the developed socialist society have been formulated in connection with the deepening of the fraternal alliance between the GDR and the USSR and its deeper embedding in the entire socialist community.

Intensive work is needed for determining the nature and degree of rapprochement in every area of the internal development of the socialist countries and for exploring the quality of what has now been attained. Among them are, at equal measure, the effects of this rapprochement as they are becoming stronger today through the socialist fraternal countries' cooperation in all domains of public life.

FOOTNOTES

1. "Programm der SED" (SED Program), Berlin, 1976, p 76.
2. "The 15th CPCZ Congress," Prague, 1970, p 80.
3. Cf. "MPRP Central Committee Report to the 17th MPRP Congress," (in Russian), Ulan-Bator, n.d., p 80; cf. also E. Merten, "From the 17th MPRP Congress to Further Successes," DEUTSCHE AUSSENPOLITIK, Berlin, 1976, No 9, pp 1298 ff.

4. For the further dynamic development of socialist construction, cf. "Seventh PZPR Congress," Warsaw, 1976, p 431.
5. Cf. "Status Report of the BCP Central Committee on the Period Between the 10th and 11th Party Congress and the Tasks Ahead," Sofia, 1976, p 19.
6. Cf. S. Quilitzsch and J. Krueger, "Sozialistische Staatengemeinschaft" (The Socialist Community of States), Berlin, 1972. pp 96 ff; A. P. Butenko et al, "Socialism and International Relations" (in Russian), Moscow, 1975, pp 211 ff.
7. "The 25th CPSU Congress--Status Report of the CPSU Central Committee and the Next Party Tasks in Domestic and Foreign Policy," Berlin, 1976, p 9.
8. "Programm der SED," loc. cit., p 57.
9. "Socialism and International Relations," loc. cit., p 149.
10. Cf. "Dokumente RGW" (CEMA Documents), Berlin, 1971, pp 25 ff.
11. "Programm der SED," loc. cit., p 22.
12. A. G. Agayev, "Socialist National Culture" (in Russian), Moscow, 1975, p 133.
13. Cf. pp 1875 ff this issue.
14. "Programm der SED," loc. cit., p 59.
15. Cf. W. Shamin et al, "Assimilation of the Economic Levels; the Most Important Goal of Integration," PRESSE DER SOWJETUNION, Berlin, 1974 No 41, pp 13 ff.
16. J. Huszar, "Problems of Socialist Economic Integration," PROBLEMS OF PEACE AND SOCIALISM, Berlin, 1976, No 8, p 1221.
17. "Communique of the 78th CEMA Executive Committee Session," NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, Berlin, 16/17 October 1976.
18. Cf. W. Shamin and W. Perevertailo, "Rapprochement and Assimilation of Developmental Levels in the Countries of Socialism," VOPROSY EKONOMIKI, Moscow, 1976, No 4.

5885

CSO: 2300

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

BRIEFS

JOURNALISTS PROTOCOLS--A protocol on bilateral cooperation in 1977-80 was signed in Bucharest on 8 December between the Journalists Council of the Socialist Republic of Romania and the National Union of Journalists of the Hungarian People's Republic. [Text] [Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 9 Dec 76 p 3 AU] A protocol was signed on 13 December in Bucharest on bilateral cooperation for 1977-78 between the Journalists Council of the Socialist Republic of Romania and the CSSR Union of Journalists. [Text] [Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 14 Dec 76 p 5 AU]

CSO: 2700

ALBANIA

ERRATUM

In JPRS 68288, dated 30 November 1976, No 1326 of this series, under ALBANIA, article titled "Political Changes Expected in Albania Following Mao Death," on page 7, line 4, please change to read : "A fourth member of the Politburo has already been replaced, while one-third of the members of the Council of Ministers have lost their posts."

EAST GERMANY

POLITBURO REPORT TO FOURTH SED CC PLENUM READ BY DOHLUS

East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 9 Dec 76 p 3-5 AU

[From the report of the Politburo delivered by Horst Dohlus, candidate member of the Politburo and secretary of the SED Central Committee, at its Fourth Plenum on Berlin on 8 December]

[Text] Comrades!

The work of our party in the period under review was marked by intensive and creative efforts for the further implementation of the Ninth SED Congress decisions. The Politburo concentrated its activities particularly on resolving those tasks with which Comrade Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee, had dealt in his concluding speech as a result of the debate at the second Central Committee Plenum:

--Preparation, holding and evaluation of the people's elections,

--The further strengthening of the material-technical base of the national economy, a thorough preparation of the 1977 Plan and the working out of the Five-Year Plan up to 1980.

--The further implementation of the foreign political goals adopted by the Ninth Party Congress, and

--The consistent increase of the fighting strength of our party.

The meetings of the bezirk leaderships, the meetings of aktivs in the bezirks andkreises and the members' meetings in the basic organizations held for this purpose reflected the great response with which the successful balance sheet and the reaffirmation met among the entire people that the course adopted by the Ninth SED Congress in its unity of economic and social policy will be purposefully further implemented.

The foreign policy aimed at deepening the fraternal alliance with the Soviet Union and the other states of the socialist community and at securing peace is being unanimously supported.

On the whole, we can note that the moral-political unity of our people was further strengthened and that we are advancing well along the road of shaping the developed socialist society as mapped out at the Eighth and Ninth Party Congresses.

People's Elections--A Mighty Profession of Adherence to the Decisions of the Ninth SED Congress

Comrades! The elections to the People's Chamber and the bezirk assemblies and the constituting of the leading state organs developed into the outstanding political event in the period under review after the Ninth Party Congress.

As Comrade Erich Honecker stated at the Third Central Committee Plenum, at the elections the citizens of the GDR made an important democratic decision. The unequivocal approval of the workers class, the cooperative peasantry, the members of the intelligentsia and the other working people for the National Front candidates was an impressive manifestation for freedom, peace and socialism. It was a convincing profession of adherence to our Ninth Party Congress decisions.

Full of elan, the working people began to implement the National Front's election appeal and the government program. They confirm by deeds their firm will expressed in the elections, to effectively support our party's policy aimed at the benefit and happiness of the people.

The citizens welcomed with deep satisfaction and great cordiality the election of Comrade Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee, to the post of chairman of the GDR State Council. They expressed their satisfaction that the proven functionary of the workers and most deserving representative of our people was entrusted with the function of the highest representative of our socialist state.

Comrades! During the election movement the leadership activity of the party concentrated itself in proven close cooperation with all parties and mass organizations united in the National Front of the GDR in making the working people even more thoroughly acquainted with the decisions of the Ninth Party Congress and mobilizing them for their active implementation.

The Politburo imparted valuable experiences to all bezirk and kreis leaderships, to the party and mass organizations and directed them to offensive, ideopolitical work. It was necessary to further strengthen the socialist state consciousness and to direct the working people's initiative and creative spirit to the further comprehensive strengthening of the GDR. The Frankfurt (Oder) Bezirk leadership's report to the Politburo and the Freital Kreis leadership's report to the Central Committee Secretariat also contributed to this.

It is characteristic that the leading party organs in the bezirks and kreises and the basic organizations are moving the implementation of the main task even more into the focus of leadership activity. On the basis of the second Central Committee Plenum they are critically evaluating the results of their work and are directing with political purposefulness the broad movement, rich in initiative, for the comprehensive fulfillment of the national economic plan.

Our party's Marxist-Leninist policy of alliance proved itself again in the preparations and holding of the people's elections. Mutual trust and comradely agreement mark the close relations with the friendly parties. As a socialist people's movement, the National Front of the GDR developed stronger and the political effectiveness of its committees grew.

The election movement was a period of intensive political discourse with millions of citizens on the fundamental questions of our life, on many topical questions and the next tasks. Mass political work gained in scope, it became more differentiated and better took into account what is actually moving the working people, their social experiences and requirements.

The essential characteristics of our living socialist democracy manifested themselves even more clearly. This was also manifest in the participation of more than 11.2 million citizens in the election rallies, in the active work of the more than 600,000 election helpers of the national front, and the responsible work of the 140,000 members of the election commissions and election boards.

The enemy who tried to interfere with our elections in a most multifarious and gross manner obviously underestimated our citizen's firm cohesion with their socialist state, their high level of political activity and the moral-political unity of our people. Consequently, he had to suffer a considerable defeat. The Politburo reacted accordingly to the intensified ideological slander campaign and the provocations of the enemy. The necessary political, ideological and further measures that were taken in each case did not fail in effectiveness, as shown by recent events.

The election movement and the people's profession of loyalty on election day convincingly demonstrated to the whole world that our socialist social system is firm and unshakable and that nobody will ever succeed in upsetting the unity of the party and the people.

Comrades! The Politburo was able to note that the results of the people's elections created good prerequisites for the further consistent implementation of the decisions of the Ninth Party Congress. It oriented all party organs and basic organizations on continuing the successful road of consistently increasing the material and cultural living standard of the people with the help of the increased awareness of the people, their great readiness and energy, and on the further comprehensive strengthening of our GDR as a firm part of the socialist community of states.

We continue to place great value in offensive and purposeful mass work. Live contact with the people is an essential element of our socialist democracy. The convincing propagation of the advantages, values and performances of socialism is the focal point in this connection. Personal political talk and the discussions in the labor collectives and in the residential areas of the cities and communities remain the main form of ideopolitical work.

Generally the Politburo stressed:

--That the firm cohesion between our party, the workers class and the entire people of the GDR is growing even closer. It must be the most important task of every leading party organ, every basic organization and every communist to continuously deepen it as the basic prerequisite for the further implementation of the decisions of our Ninth Party Congress.

--For our successful advance there remains the consistent continuation of the trustful cooperation with the friendly parties and the joint political work of all social forces united in the national front as the immutable principle of the proven Marxist-Leninist alliance policy of our party.

--The initiative touched off by the election movement for the fulfillment of the 1976 National Economic Plan and the good preparations for the 1977 Plan provide our republic with good foundations that must be effectively utilized and promoted in the political leadership activity for the further implementation of the main task.

--All state organs must make a thorough analysis of the proposals, suggestions and petitions submitted in the election movement and must draw conclusions for the further improvement of management activity.

On the Implementation of the Main Task in Its Unity of Economic and Social Policy

Comrades,

In keeping with the decisions of the Ninth Party Congress and of the Second Central Committee Plenum the implementation of the main task in its unity of economic and social policy was at the center of activity of the Politburo and Secretariat of the Central Committee in the period under review.

The Politburo is able to note that it was possible, thanks to the continuing stable and dynamic growth of the GDR's national economy, to effect additional significant measures to enhance the peoples' material and cultural living standard.

The apartment-building program as the gist of the sociopolitical program was purposefully continued. An average of 562 new or modernized apartments were built on every workday from January to November 1976. By commissioning 132,158 apartments, including 90,267 newly built ones, it was possible to exceed the plan targets up to the end of November and to fulfill the Annual Plan for 1976 98.5 percent already. Thus the living conditions for some 396,000 citizens improved in the past 11 months of this year alone.

It was also possible to achieve further improvements of the living conditions in towns and the countryside in expanding the system of communal facilities through the purposeful overfulfillment of the plan tasks. A total of 7,831 places in creches, 15,782 places in kindergartens, 2,485 classrooms, 115 school gymnasiums, 3,199 places in pensioners' and nursing homes as well as 688 work places for physicians and stomatologists were commissioned.

The Politburo paid great attention to the implementation of the decisions on the further improvement of the GDR capital of Berlin. Thus, important decisions were made, for example, concerning the first building phase of the construction and reconstruction of the Charity Clinic of Humboldt University. Thus far 3,600 young workers, engineers and architects have begun work in the capital and in important enterprises supplying component parts within the framework of the "FOY Berlin Initiative."

Comrades,

In the past few weeks important measures of the joint decision of the SED Central Committee, the GDR Council of Ministers and of the FDGB Federal Executive of this May went into effect.

Thus 1.4 million working people received higher wages since 1 October. Minimum wages were increased by M50 up to M400. Workers and employees with monthly gross wages between M400 and M500 received differentiated wage increases.

The planned gradual introduction of basic wages combined with a scientific labor organization increasingly proves to be a successful road toward enhancing the workers' material interests in growing performances. Currently roughly a quarter of a million production workers are working under this new form of performance-oriented compensation.

Jointly with the working people new technically grounded work norms were prepared and introduced in these enterprises. The political-ideological activity of the party organizations and managers it aimed at creating all the technological and organizational prerequisites for daily fulfilling the new work norms.

In connection with the introduction of basic wages the Politburo focuses the attention of the party and trade union organizations as well as of the enterprise managers on further improving the working conditions in connection with measures of scientific labor organization. The objective of the introduction of basic wages consists in the fact that the workers wages also increase with increasing work results.

An extensive pension increase went into effect once more in the GDR a few days ago. Pensions were increased by an average of M40 for some 3.4 million labor veterans.

It is an expression of our socialist democracy that the wishes and suggestions voiced by many citizens in the popular debate on the documents of the Ninth Party Congress were thus realized. For this purpose our society is making available some M6 billion from the national income up to 1980. Combined with the further perfection of the social, medical and cultural care, the creation of age-adjusted living space, the building of pensioners and nursing homes our citizens' autumn of life will be even more strongly determined by security and safety.

In keeping with the high priority that attaches to supplies to the population in implementing the unity of economic and social policy, the Politburo and

Secretariat of the Central Committee have repeatedly dealt with the consistent fulfillment of all the tasks in this sphere. A delivery of reports by the Magdeburg Bezirk leadership before the Central Committee Secretariat also served this purpose.

Comrades,

In the past 11 months of this year the populations' net monetary incomes rose 3.4 percent compared with the previous year. Retail trade turnover increase by 4.2 percent while prices remained stable.

It can be stated on the whole that it was possible to achieve further progress with respect to stable supplies to the citizens according to requirements. The sales of finished products for the population envisaged by the National Economic Plan were fulfilled by industry up to 102.2 percent by the end of November. Industry made available products for supplies valued at more than M780 million in excess of the plan.

Retail sales of industrial goods rose 5.5 percent. The population purchased above all more household and utility commodities, furniture, cultural goods and sports articles as well as technical consumer goods.

The Politburo does not ignore, however, that additional efforts are necessary on the part of the ministers, directors general of the VVB's and combines and of the enterprise managers to better gratify the growing needs of the population for qualitatively valuable, tasteful industrial goods of attractive design. Constantly to keep in mind these tasks, constantly to insist on modifications and new results and to introduce them while widely enlisting the workers and scientists, particularly the innovators--all this should be a most important matter of concern for all managers and party organizations.

The Politburo underscores the responsibility of the managers in the state and economy as well as the need for intensified control by the party organizations to insure that high quality consumer goods, in keeping with contract and variety requirements, are manufactured in the price ranges requested by the population, that they reach the retail trade by the shortest way possible and that they are offered for sale to the population at the right time.

Comrades,

The positive results achieved in fulfilling the 1976 National Economic Plan were continuously carried on and further improved thanks to the outstanding performances of the workers, cooperative peasants, members of the intelligentsia and of all working people in the socialist competition. The Politburo highly appreciates the fact that many enterprise collectives adopted specific targets for exceeding the plan tasks, particularly with respect to important raw materials, component parts and consumer goods and that they consistently fulfilled them.

In the period under review the Politburo and Central Committee Secretariat dealt monthly with the fulfillment of the National Economic Plan and adopted

all the required decisions for continuing the dynamic performance development of the national economy. The Council of Ministers was instructed to implement the measures required for this purpose. When assessing the fulfillment of the 1976 National Economic Plan the Politburo particularly stresses that it was possible to further improve the continuity and stability of the plan implementation as compared with the previous years. The number of enterprises reliably fulfilling their production plans, month after month, has increased. Even today we are able to note with good reason that there exist all the proper prerequisites for successfully completing the first year of the new Five-Year Plan.

The plan for industrial commodity output was fulfilled 92 percent by the end of November in the national economy. The absolute plan lead in industry increased up to M1.3 billion worth of commodity output.

Visible evidence of the increased capability of our national economy is the fact that industrial products valued at M2.9 billion more than in the same period of last year were manufactured by this November. This amounts to a growth rate of 5.6 percent.

The building output plan was fulfilled by 92.3 percent by the end of November. The plan lead in the building industry totals M38 million.

Great achievements were accomplished in all transport sectors in times of strongly increasing transports of crops as well as of fuel and building materials for winter supplies. In the past 10 months of this year 87.3 million tons more goods than in the previous year were carried and transhipped by the railways and road transport.

Comrades, in line with the orientation provided by the second Central Committee Plenum, to increase particularly the creative level of scientific-technical performance, bezirk and kreis leaderships and many enterprise party organizations developed a purposeful political work to make the acceleration of scientific-technical progress more and more the concern of all enterprise collectives.

The transition and quality targets of the science and technology state plan that produce immediate effects on production were fulfilled by the end of November already at 94 percent. With these by now, completed tasks a production volume of M6.9 billion will be produced in 1976 on a higher scientific-technical level and with greater national-economic effectiveness.

The Politburo regards as highly valuable the results of the 19th Central Fair of the Masters of Tomorrow, through which youth contributes to the acceleration of scientific-technical progress. This year, 2,244,000 young people participated in this movement. The participation of young workers has increased by 70,000 as against last year.

It is a principle of our party's and our state's policy to constantly devote great attention to the education and training of youth. Jointly with the Council of Ministers, the FDGB Federal Executive and the FDJ Central Council, the Politburo adopted a resolution "for a high level in implementing the decisions

of the Ninth Party Congress in the field of vocational training." Here we proceed from the good results of vocational training since the Eighth Party Congress. In 1976 222,600 school leavers started apprenticeship, among them 80 percent with a completed 10-grade school education. Their education and training will essentially contribute to shaping the appearance of the workers class in the coming decades.

The Politburo points out that through party-minded and practice-related teaching as well as through productive work in conformity with the teaching plan, a high level of training and education for all apprentices is to be achieved. What matters here is the universal all-round training of class-conscious skilled workers who live up to the demands for a high quality of work and who with the completion of their apprenticeships achieve the performance of skilled workers. To this end, our party will still more effectively support and further the close cooperation with the teachers, instructing masters, educators, instructing skilled workers and working collectives and all parents.

The Central Committee Secretariat discussed the state of implementation of the decisions for promoting the productivity of artisan producer cooperatives, private retail shops, restaurants and artisans enterprises for services in the interest of further improving the supply of the people.

It is the task of the local organs to intensify, in close cooperation with the national front, ideopolitical work with the artisans and small tradesmen and to further support them in raising their contribution to the implementation of the main task. The further increase of the repair and other services as well as of value-preserving repair work for the populace makes it necessary for artisans capacities that are still engaged in cooperation production for industry, or which are used in investment projects, to be more swiftly led back and to be developed toward their original tasks.

Comrades, in the Politburo's opinion what matters is that the ministers, the directors general of associations of state enterprises and combines, the enterprise managers and the party organizations direct their efforts at an all-round fulfillment of the National Economic Plan and its further purposeful overfulfillment also in the last few weeks of the year 1976. In these efforts, the fulfillment of the 1976 National Economic Plan and the careful preparation of a stable and continuous transition into the year of 1977 must constitute an inseparable entity.

With the good experiences gained so far in the implementation of the Ninth Party Congress decisions, and the standards worked out by Comrade Erich Honecker at the Second Central Committee Plenum, we enter the new plan year well equipped. The Politburo confirmed the decision of the presidium of the FDGB Federal Executive on implementing the socialist competition as well as on the key points for socialist competition in agriculture, forestry and foodstuff economy for 1977.

Under the slogan "Greater Benefit From Every Working Hour, Every Gram of Material" the socialist competition in 1977 is marked by the preparation of

the 28th anniversary of the GDR's founding and the 60th anniversary of the greater October Socialist Revolution. An important milestone in carrying out the socialist competition is the Ninth FDGB Congress.

To insure the all-round fulfillment and deliberate overfulfillment of the 1977 National Economic Plan, in socialist competition, it is particularly important to focus all the working people's initiatives on the further deepening of socialist intensification, on a high productivity and effectiveness of work. At the same time, further progress must be achieved in improving the working people's working and living conditions.

In this context the Politburo confirmed a resolution on working with the counter-plan in 1977 and as of 1978. The task consists in making the lead over the Five-Year Plan, gained through the overfulfillment of the 1976 Plan targets, effective for 1977 and in further increasing it.

The Politburo approved the monthly breakdown of the state plan targets for the first quarter of 1977 and stressed the importance of the timely apportionment of the plan down to the various production sectors and working places. It constitutes an essential basis for a good plan start and the concrete implementation of socialist competition for the fulfillment and purposeful overfulfillment of the 1977 National Economic Plan.

To insure the full energy supply to the people, and the energy supply according to plan to the economy in the winter 1976/77 and in the year 1977, the measures laid down in the directive of the Central Committee Secretariat and the Council of Ministers are to be consistently carried out. Their implementation is to be strictly controlled by the party organs in charge.

This also applies to coping with the great requirements that are made on the transport system in all sectors of the national economy under winter conditions. In this context, the Politburo decided to take a number of concrete measures whose implementation demands in a particular high degree the attention also of the bezirk and kreis leaderships.

The Central Committee Secretariat received a report on questions of the trouble-free operation of modern and highly efficient large plants in the energy and chemical industry sector. It was able to note that in the political leadership activity the problems of production safety are increasingly being given greater attention. Although a decline in the number of breakdowns at enterprises was achieved, the progress is still inadequate, however.

It is obvious that still greater attention must be paid to the political education of the working people by the party organizations and by the enterprise and combine directors--education to a high sense of responsibility, to party and state discipline, as well as to a socialist labor discipline.

Comrades, in evaluating the hitherto achieved results in implementing the 1976 plan and in preparing the 1977 plan the Politburo orients the managers in state and economy, the party organs and the basic organizations leaderships on the following key points:

1. Decisive prerequisites for the continuous start of the 1977 Plan are being created by the exact fulfillment of all targets of the science and technology plans.

To insure the growth according to plan of quality and effectiveness of production, and thus the further improvement of the national economy results also in 1977 from the very first month, it is imperative to complete every scientific-technical plan task punctually and at a high, creative level.

The reports submitted to the Central Committee Secretariat by the party leadership of the Wolfen VEB Photochemical Combine and by the industrial kreis leadership of the "Schwarze Pumpe" Combine also served these tasks. The decisions adopted on these reports provided all bezirk leaderships, kreis leaderships and basic organizations with important conclusions. Thus the experiences of the Wolfen Photochemical Combine emphasize the need--proceeding from reliable and honest analysis of product quality--to struggle with still more consistency for the fulfillment of the scientific-technical tasks. To this end the managers must adopt increased personal responsibility, and the socialist communal work between workers, engineers and scientists must be further improved.

In evaluating the Second Central Committee Plenum the kreis party organization of the "Schwarze Pumpe" Combine increased the effectiveness of its political leadership activity. The stronger orientation on accelerating the scientific-technical progress was a decisive prerequisite for insuring the comprehensive plan fulfillment and for further increasing the effectiveness of production.

The Central Committee Secretariat drew the attention of the comrades of the "Schwarze Pumpe" Combine especially to the need--proceeding from the correlated fuel and energy plan--to fully utilize the existing production capacities and to achieve further improvements in the economical use of materials. Along with this, the working and living conditions of the working people are to be further improved according to plan.

Comrades, the great result that can be achieved through concentrating on complex economic-technical tasks, and if ambitious scientific aims are combined with high national-economic effectiveness, is shown by the GDR's contribution to the Soyuz 22 experiment, with the MKF-6 multispectral camera built at the Carl Zeiss VEB in Jena. This top achievement is an outstanding example of international socialist research cooperation and of the close scientific-technical cooperation between the GDR and the USSR. At the same time it is a tangible example of the enlarged capacity of our country's scientific and economic potential.

The Politburo stresses the need for increasingly scoring such scientific-technical top achievements in sectors of special importance to the national economy and for comprehensively developing the creativeness of the scientists, engineers and innovators to this end.

2. The achievement of the ambitious targets for increasing the output of the national economy in 1977 requires the efficient utilization of the existing basic assets, a strict management of investment activities as well as an increased effectiveness of investments.

On the basis of available analyses the Politburo points out that despite the progress achieved in utilizing the basic assets, major efforts are still required to utilize more consistently the considerable reserves for a more economical use of basic assets. This includes primarily the full utilization of working time.

The activity of the Council of Ministers and the ideopolitical work of the bezirk and kreis leaderships was oriented on evaluating and generalizing the positive experiences of the Erfurt and Karl-Marx-Stadt Bezirk leaderships concerning a better utilization of the basic assets. In these bezirks, concrete analyses of the economical use of basic assets were worked out under the direction of the bezirk and kreis leadership and the party organizations. Through broad mass political work and coordinated activities of all social forces at the enterprises and in the territory, conditions were created for the step-by-step improvement of the utilization of highly productive machines and plants.

Comrades, an essential condition for economic growth in 1977 and the subsequent years of the Five-Year Plan is the comprehensive fulfillment of the investment plan. The Politburo draws the attention of state and economic leaders to the need to thoroughly prepare the investments, to strictly direct their implementation and to put the projects punctually into operation, at the same time insuring the rapid achievement of the planned performance targets.

With the support of central state and economic organs, the Erfurt Bezirk leadership developed an exemplary initiative for securing the planned investment projects of industry. Through the constructive collaboration of all responsible leaders concerned at the comprehensive discussions on the preparation of the plan, well-founded decisions were made so as to determine the economically most effective priorities for the concentrated implementation of construction projects and to insure concurrence between plan and contracts. This approach encouraged the initiative of the collectives in the Erfurt Building and Assembly Combine to complete the industrial projects as contracted and to comprehensively fulfill and purposefully overfulfill their 1976 Plan targets. The Central Committee Secretariat issued directives to effectively generalize these useful experiences.

3. It is of high importance that the export targets as well as the imports necessary for the supply of the people and of the economy be fulfilled according to plan and to contracts.

The long-term trade agreements concluded with the Soviet Union and the other CEMA countries for the Five-Year Plan period 1976-80 provide a stable basis for this. The achievements of the GDR national economy and the important progress in deepening socialist economic integration were impressively demonstrated by the CEMA countries at the 1976 Leipzig Fall Fair.

During the party-state leadership's traditional tour of the fair, Comrade Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee, appreciated the successful collaboration between the GDR and the USSR that is developing on the basis of the decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress and Ninth SED Congress as well as in full agreement with the decisions of the 30th CEMA session.

In numerous conversations with official personalities and representatives of the economy from capitalist industrial countries Comrade Erich Honecker reaffirmed the GDR policy for the establishment of material foundations of lasting peace in the spirit of the final Helsinki document. He underscored our country's interest in the development of trade, proceeding from the principles of equality of rights and mutual advantage.

Comrades,

The working people in the socialist agriculture, forestry and foodstuffs economy are making a significant contribution to implementing the decisions of the Ninth Party Congress by supplying the population of our republic with foodstuffs and industry with raw materials in a planned manner.

The state procurement of animal products was fulfilled with respect to all products in keeping with the National Economic Plan targets. Thus the plan fulfillment up to the end of November amounts to 100.2 percent for slaughter cattle, 101.4 percent for milk and 104.7 percent for eggs. These results were the basis for supplying the population according to plan with meat, milk and other animal products at stable retail prices.

Great efforts were undertaken to preserve the planned cattle stocks. It still remains a decisive national economic task for all those working in animal production to develop cattle stocks according to the plan with main emphasis on the herds of cows and sows.

The working people of socialist agriculture developed multifarious initiatives in plant production to curb the effects of the unfavorable weather development and the harvest losses. The measures adopted for this purpose by the Politburo and the Council of Ministers as well as the strict control over their implementation are proving to be an effective support for the further successful development of our agriculture.

The harvesting of potatoes, sugar beets and fodder crops, including 1 million hectares of summer intermediate crops, was completed according to plan. The overall state procurement of edible and seed potatoes was fulfilled with respect to sugar beets 67.3 percent of the purchase plan was fulfilled by the end of November, due to the reduced yields. Plan fulfillment for vegetables totals 65.7 percent. The annual plan for fruit was fulfilled by 111.2 percent by the end of November. The members of the federation of small plot gardeners, settlers and small animal holders have a great share in this.

Comrades,

The cultivation work was carried out in keeping with the agro-technical requirements and the plan for the sowing of winter grain was exceeded. A total of 118,000 more hectares than in the past year were sown with immediate winter crops.

The cooperative peasants and workers of the fodder processing enterprises, drying plants and pelleting installations are accomplishing good performances in processing straw into valuable fodder. By the end of November they produced 1,245,000 tons of straw pellets. This is twice as much as under the 1976 plan and three times as much as in the previous year.

It also is important in the coming few months fully to exploit the pellet processing capacities round the clock. The boards of the agricultural production cooperatives and the leaders of the VEB's in agriculture should pay still greater attention to the utilization of urea, natron lye and of other additives for the manufacture of straw pellets and for feeding purposes. As Comrade Erich Honecker explained at the Second Central Committee Plenum, therein lies a main direction for feeding cattlestocks in the future and producing beef and milk in an industrial manner.

The working people in the state forestry enterprises as well as the cooperative members in inter-enterprise forestry institutions purposefully and successfully worked for the fulfillment of the proportional lumber plan. The National Economic Plan for lumber deliveries was met by 90.3 percent by 20 November.

The measures for a stronger development of cooperative and individual apartment building in rural areas adopted by the Politburo and Council of Ministers are highly important for improving working and living conditions and have touched off additional initiatives. It can be estimated even today that the targets set for 1976 will be exceeded.

A report delivered by the Neubrandenburg Bezirk leadership in the Politburo on the implementation of cooperative and individual apartment building in rural areas underscored the activities, experiences and results in that Bezirk.

It was particularly with a uniform orientation, constant verification and socialist communal work that additional reserves were developed, for example, for the production and supply of additional building materials and for providing transport. The founding and activity of special interest associations of several working people for individual apartment building proved useful. Similar positive experiences also are available in other Bezirke, such as Bostock, Magdeburg, Gera and Erfurt.

The Politburo emphasizes that the available possibilities for material-technical assistance to cooperative and individual apartment building in the villages should be utilized even more comprehensively and bureaucratic phenomena should be eliminated. The Council of Ministers was instructed to examine those problems that must be solved centrally and to make such decisions as enhance the responsibility of the mayors and community associations in order to promote the initiatives for cooperative and individual apartment building in the countryside even more strongly.

Comrades, in the period under review the Politburo devoted great attention to the joint efforts of the fraternal socialist countries for the implementation of the significant decisions of the 30th CEMA session on the further deepening of the socialist economic integration.

A GDR government delegation attended the 78th session of the CEMA Executive Committee in Moscow. The executive committee debated an analysis of the gradual approximation and assimilation of the economic development of the CEMA member countries in the 1960-75 period. It is to be taken into consideration in the long-term target programs for collaboration that are to be worked out in keeping with the 30th CEMA session.

Clearly visible in the analysis is--the high state of economic and social development of the GDR, which was achieved thanks to the productivity of social labor and to a more comprehensive utilization of the socialist labor potential.

The Further Strengthening of Our State Power

Comrades,

In connection with the preparation and results of the people's elections the Politburo dealt with the forthcoming tasks related to the further strengthening of our state power.

The leading role of the workers class in the state and society was brought out further and the alliance with the class of the cooperative peasants, the intelligentsia and the other working strata of the people was strengthened. Socialist democracy is successfully developing on this basis.

Our socialist state power is solid and stable. Reliably protected against all hostile plots, it fulfills its tasks in keeping with the decisions of the Ninth Party Congress with convincing results.

The consistent implementation of the main task and the growing capability of our national economy prove ever again to be decisive factors for the constant strengthening of our state and for its growing international authority.

The further perfecting of socialist democracy constitutes the main orientation of development of our socialist state. Inseparably linked with this is the ambitious activity of the deputies, the further qualification of the work methods of the state apparatus and the enhancement of its effectiveness. A decisive importance in this respect attaches to the activity of the Council of Ministers and of its organs.

The entire work of the Council of Ministers centers around the implementation of the tasks of the National Economic Plan and insuring the unity of economic and social policy so that the policy of the party aiming at the benefit of the people can be further implemented in life. This requires specifically that the personal responsibility of the ministers and the heads of other central state organs for the implementation of the decisions of the party and state leadership be further increased.

High personal responsibility, concrete guidelines and thorough information are essential prerequisites for insuring the precise fulfillment of the decisions

of party and government with a wealth of ideas and creative energy in the ministries, VVB's combines and enterprises.

Comrades! The many thousand deputies are performing devoted work full of initiative for the interests of the citizens. They have great responsibility for the further consolidation and strengthening of our worker-peasant power.

The Politburo proceeds from the need to further increase the authority of the deputies. This requires that the deputies make even closer contacts with their voters and that work in the committees and commissions be organized more according to plans.

A higher quality in the compositions of the bezirk assemblies was attained through the people's elections. For example, the share of workers is 45.2 percent and the share of women 38 percent. A total of 38.2 percent of the deputies graduated from university and 23.1 graduated from a vocational college.

The tasks of the councils and their special organs are more demanding, particularly in view of the timely and comprehensive information of the people's representations and their deputies so that the experiences, knowledge and initiatives of the working people in cooperation with the national front committees can flow even more effectively into the decisions and their implementation. It is necessary to exercise even better the control functions instituted by the law on the local people's representations and their organs.

Territorial rationalization for mobilizing further reserves must be purposefully continued. It must be directed even more at promoting the economical use of basic assets, rationalization aid for locally administered enterprises and the joint effective utilization of state and enterprise assets for the improvement of labor and living conditions. This is also valid for the cooperation between cities and community associations.

Comrades, the Central Committee Secretariat dealt with an analysis of the petitions, proposals and suggestions of the working people submitted in preparation of the people's elections. The material is available to the members and candidate members of the Central Committee.

The more than 146,000 petitions, proposals and suggestions from this period also reflect the trust in the party policy, the enlarged social activity and the readiness of the citizens to make a greater personal contribution to the implementation of the decisions of the Ninth Party Congress.

The petitions submitted by the working people in a businesslike manner are in their overwhelming number justified. Many working people participate constructively in shaping the social development and have a more intolerant attitude toward shortcomings. They justly expect that their justified petitions are more carefully considered and more swiftly settled by the state organs.

There are also a number of suggestions and wishes that do not accord with the real situation and our current possibilities. One must discuss this openly and in a businesslike manner with the citizens to make them understand that one cannot resolve all problems as early as today but only in accordance with our further successful development.

Many petitions, suggestions and criticism concern questions of housing conditions. The working people repeatedly point out that frequently housing space can be maintained with relatively small means and that the housing conditions can be improved if necessary repairs are made in time. It is also being pointed out that there is an insufficient supply of materials needed by the citizens for undertaking within the framework of the "join in" competition small repairs and beautification work by themselves.

As before, there is criticism of the work of the municipal housing administrations and the VEB housing administrations. They concern primarily the bureaucratic attitude of employees and the frequently still insufficient cooperation with the house communities in effecting repair work.

Petitions touching transportation and roads concern primarily the maintenance work on roads and sidewalks, the improvement of commuter and inner-city transport and street cleaning. In the commuter traffic of workers it is primarily lack of punctuality, shortcomings in routing and in the timetables that are criticized. The citizens point out that many of these problems could be solved by improving the organization of transport and by greater discipline in observing the timetables and service schedules. Part of the petitions also concern the stabilization of the water supply, a further improvement of the quality of drinking water and linkups with the central water supply network. Undoubtedly there are a number of complicated problems here that can only be solved step-by-step.

The analysis of the petitions on questions of supply indicate that the citizens recognize the consistent and good development of the range of goods offered for sale. The petitions concentrate here on such problems as are caused by the management activities of the local state and economic organs in charge. It concerns above all the securing of the full range of everyday consumption goods up to shop closing hours, the unscheduled closing of retail sale and catering outlets and the delayed putting into operation of supply institutions in newly built areas.

On the whole, the analysis of the petitions made it clear that it is necessary to generally improve information for the citizens on the development in the territory, on city building, on the future shape of old city areas and other municipal political projects.

The Central Committee Secretariat instructed the bezirk and kreis leaderships to draw the necessary conclusions from the analysis of the citizens' petitions, particularly in the field of state activities and to impose strict control upon the attentive handling of petitions.

On Questions of the GDR Foreign Policy and the International Relations of the SED

Comrades, in the field of GDR foreign policy and the international relations of the SED the Politburo is, in accordance with the decisions of our Ninth Party Congress, directing its activities at insuring further the most favorable international conditions for socialist and communist construction.

The main attention of the Politburo was focused on the further deepening of the fraternal alliance with the Soviet Union and the other states of the socialist community and the further strengthening of the unity and cooperation of our countries.

The meeting of the political consultative committee on 25 and 26 November 1976 in Bucharest was of extraordinary importance for the continuation of the coordinated peace and security policy of the Warsaw Pact member-states.

With the decisions of this meeting the Warsaw Pact states have, 1 year after the Helsinki Conference, taken a significant new initiative for having the process of political detente supplemented by measures for military detente and for eliminating existing hotbeds of conflicts.

This program that is most profoundly in accordance with the interest of the peoples, extends far into the future. It is aimed at halting the arms race fanned by the imperialist armament monopolies. The documents of the Bucharest meeting reflect the humanitarian spirit of our peace policy.

Comrade Leonid Brezhnev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, analyzed in his speech in an outstanding manner the changes that are currently taking place on the international scene. They were brought about primarily by the constantly growing power of the Soviet Union and our entire socialist community of states as well as their coordinated foreign policy.

In this connection, we are not overlooking the fact that the circles of armament capital, militarism and revanchism are using interference with the domestic affairs of other states as a weapon against detente. This is also demonstrated by the fact that the influence of reactionary, militarist, revanchist and even neo-Nazi forces in the FRG has grown. Last but not least, this was demonstrated by the scandalous acquittal of Weinhold, the double murderer of two GDR border guards. A storm of protest arose in our republic and all over the world.

There are intensified efforts to incorporate West Berlin into the FRG and thus to aggravate tensions around this city. The joint efforts of the Warsaw Pact member-states are directed at strengthening the political status of West Berlin as laid down in the Quadripartite Agreement, and at consistently rejecting all attacks against this agreement by coordinated measures.

Strict observance of the sovereignty and noninterference in the domestic affairs of another state are the prerequisites for any constructive cooperation.

The meeting of the political consultative committee proved again that it is in the national interest of every fraternal socialist state as well as in our joint interest to continuously make comprehensive cooperation closer, thus further enhancing the strength of our actions for stable peace. In the Warsaw Pact organization and CEMA we have proven tools, tested by life, for political, economic and military cooperation.

The decision to establish the Committee of Foreign Ministers and the Joint Secretariat of the Warsaw Pact States constitutes an important step for perfecting the mechanism for political cooperation with the framework of the Warsaw Pact.

We attribute special importance to the declaration appealing to the peoples of Europe to make intensified efforts to make peace more stable, to oppose the reactionary forces hostile to detente, and to pave the way for effective steps along the road to arms limitation and disarmament. This goal is also served by the proposal to all states participating in the all-European conference to sign a treaty under which none of them will be the first to use nuclear weapons.

As Comrade Erich Honecker stressed at the Bucharest meeting the Warsaw Pact member-states are thus firmly maintaining the initiative in the fundamental questions of the struggle for peace, for deepening detente, for security and mutually profitable cooperation on our continent and are further developing it. As before, the GDR will make its constructive contribution to attaining this goal.

The Politburo of the SED Central Committee and the GDR Council of Ministers in its statement expressed its full approval for the results of this meeting of the political consultative committee and thanked the delegation led by Comrade Erich Honecker for its outstanding work.

In the period under review we celebrated the first anniversary of the conclusion of the treaty on friendship, cooperation and mutual assistance between the GDR and the USSR. An outstanding example of its effectiveness was the joint space project "Soyuz 22" for which a GDR government delegation headed by Comrade Guenter Mittag visited the Soviet Union.

The visit of the cosmonauts Valeriy Bykovskiy and Vladimir Aksionov to our republic developed into an impressive manifestation of the inviolable friendship between our two states and peoples.

Comrades! In the period under review, the party and the government continued its purposeful work for the further strengthening of the alliance with the states and peoples fighting for national and social liberation.

At the invitation of Comrade Erich Honecker, SED Central Committee general secretary and GDR State Council chairman, a party-state delegation of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau, headed by Comrade Luiz Cabral, deputy secretary general of the African Independence Party of Guinea and the Cape Verde Islands (PAIGC) and state council chairman, visited our republic.

The visit of the comrades from this young African state developed into a high point of the further consolidation of cooperation between our two parties and states concerning the continuation of the joint anti-imperialist struggle in the new phase of social development. It was an eloquent expression of our party's work for the ideals of proletarian internationalism, for the cohesion of all progressive forces and the solidarity with all liberated peoples and all peoples and countries struggling for their liberation.

The same spirit also marked Comrade Willi Stoph's trips to the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen and to the Democratic Republic of Somalia.

As before, an important place in our party's work is occupied by the international solidarity with the antifascist struggle of the Chilean patriots and democrats. Comrade Erich Honecker received a delegation of the political commission of the Chilean Communist Party headed by Volodia Teitelboim as well as a delegation of the Chilean Socialist Party headed by its secretary general, Carlos Altamirano.

The Chilean comrades expressed thanks for the solidaristic attitude of the SED and of the GDR people and referred to it as a great encouragement in their hard and sacrificial struggle that has reached a new stage. Comrade Erich Honecker assured the representatives of both parties that the GDR people, party and government will continue their solidarity with the Chilean people undiminished. Above all, it is necessary to step up the struggle for the release of Comrade Luis Corvalan and all other political prisoners as well as for the saving of the thousands of abducted and missing patriots.

Comrades, the SED's international relations are being further deepened in the spirit of proletarian internationalism.

Fruitful talks on problems of the international workers movement took place between Comrade Erich Honecker, general secretary of our party's Central Committee, and Comrade Pieter Keunemann, secretary general of the Sri Lanka Communist Party, and Comrade Khaled Bakdash, secretary general of the Syrian Communist Party.

The Eighth Party Congress of the Portuguese Communist Party was attended by a delegation of the SED Central Committee headed by Comrade Hermann Axen. This first regular party congress under conditions of legality since 1923 was an expression of the progressing process of the party's stabilization. As the revolutionary vanguard of the workers class, the Portuguese Communist Party is striving to preserve the alliance between the Portuguese people and the armed forces and to strengthen the unity of action of all upright democratic forces. At its party congress it has set the task of consolidating the revolutionary-democratic achievements and resolutely repelling all attacks of the reaction.

A delegation of the SED Central Committee headed by Comrade Erich Mueckenberger participated in the 25th Congress of the Danish Communist Party.

The Politburo repeatedly dealt with the implementation of the action tasks contained in the document of the Berlin Conference of European communist and workers parties. In the spirit of this conference, which was organized by our party, a letter from Comrade Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee, as well as the document of the Berlin Conference were submitted to the presidium of the Congress of the Socialist International held in Geneva, with the request to bring it to the attention of the congress.

A delegation of the SED Central Committee headed by Comrade Paul Verner visited Finland at the invitation of the party executive of the Social Democratic Party. The talks with Kalevi Sorsa, chairman of the Finnish Social Democratic Party, and the joint communique reflect the identity of the two parties' views on the fundamental questions of peace, security and international cooperation.

Referring to the document of the Berlin Conference of European Communist and Workers Parties, the SED and the Finnish Social Democratic Party came out for developing and deepening the cooperation between communist, socialist and social democratic parties, despite ideological differences, in the interest of peace, of strengthening detente and of social progress.

Comrades, in the period under review the Politburo paid constant attention to the development of the GDR's relations with the capitalist states. In this respect there have been manifold initiatives and political activities in the period under review, such as Comrade Horst Sinderman's visit to Mexico and the GDR foreign minister's talks with the foreign ministers of Great Britain, Denmark and Finland.

In accordance with the basic line laid down at the Ninth Party Congress, the GDR proceeds unwaveringly from further developing its relations also with the FRG on the basis of the principles of peaceful coexistence and the generally recognized norms of international law. These relations will make headway in the extent in which also the FRG Government will let itself be guided in its practical actions by the existence of two sovereign German states that are independent of each other.

The GDR will positively react to all steps of the new Bonn Government that are guided by the striving for peace and by an attitude reflecting realism and commonsense.

The growing agitation and slander campaign against the GDR, which is being used by certain forces in the FRG for undermining and for depriving of their content in the relations with the GDR such fundamental principles of peaceful coexistence as the inviolability of borders, respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity as well as noninterference in internal affairs, is incompatible with the European treaty system and the Helsinki final document.

As Comrade Erich Honecker declared at the meeting of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Pact states in Bucharest, we will firmly oppose endeavors of the FRG to twist commitments from the European treaty system and the Helsinki final document so as to give them revanchist functions [revanchistisch umzufunktionieren].

All these attempts are futile in the final analysis, but they strain the atmosphere and seriously disturb the progress of the European process of detente. As far as the GDR is concerned, it will continue also in the future to advocate the consistent compliance with the principles agreed on in the basic treaty and in the other treaties with the FRG, as well as in the Helsinki final document.

The Politburo has repeatedly dealt with the course and the results of the 31st UN General Assembly. The USSR's new constructive proposals submitted in the speech of Comrade Gromyko evoked a strong response in our party and among the GDR people. Owing to the active endeavors of the socialist states it was possible to adopt a number of important resolutions.

With the speech of Foreign Minister Oskar Fischer the GDR again demonstrated its constructive participation in solving the problems before the world organization, an attitude that tallies with the principles of the UN charter and has met with understanding and recognition on the part of the overwhelming majority of UN members.

The GDR consistently supports the implementation of all proposals submitted by the USSR for discontinuing the arms race and for disarmament. Also, the solemn signing of the Stockholm World Peace Council appeal by Comrade Erich Honecker on behalf of our party and all GDR people was an expression of our peace policy.

Among the overwhelming majority of the states of the world the GDR's resolute support for the implementation of the right of self-determination for the peoples in Southern Africa and of the elimination of the apartheid regime and of all forms of neocolonialism has met with a positive response.

The GDR backs the resolutions adopted by the United Nations organization, in which sanctions are demanded against the racist regime in South Africa, and the support given to this regime by a number of imperialist states in oppressing human rights is condemned.

We attach great importance to the special international solidarity conference held in October in Addis Ababa, which was attended by a GDR delegation, a conference that provided new stimuli for the struggle for the fulfillment of the legitimate demands of the peoples in southern Africa.

Comrades, in line with the unequivocal orientation of the Ninth Party Congress to resolutely oppose any imperialist policy of aggression and to work consistently for the political solution of all conflicts in the interest of peace and of the peoples' right to self-determination, the GDR is making its contribution to the liquidation of the hotbeds of danger existing in the world.

Lately the situation in the Middle East dangerously deteriorated in connection with the events in Lebanon. At the Second Central Committee Plenum it was pointed out that the armed conflicts provoked by the imperialist states served the aim of preventing the necessary political settlement of the Middle East Problem as a whole.

The endeavors of imperialism, primarily of the United States, were and continue to be aimed at strengthening the positions of Israel and of the Arab reaction and dealing heavy blows to the progressive forces in the Middle East, especially the PLO.

Now that following the Arab conferences of Riyadh and Cairo the bloodshed in Lebanon has essentially come to an end and the Arab peace forces, which primarily consist of Syrian units, have the entire country under control, it can be stated: The aims of imperialism and of the Arab reaction to smash the national-patriotic forces in Lebanon have not been attained.

More than ever the main question is now in the foreground: The comprehensive political solution of the Middle East problem. The GDR supports the USSR government's "proposal for a Middle East settlement and for the Geneva Peace Conference" of 1 October 1976, implementation of which would lead to the establishment of a durable peace in the Middle East, and advocates an early resumption of the work of the Geneva Middle East Conference with the PLO's participation on an equal footing.

In the past few months the GDR strengthened political and material solidarity with the PLO. In the talk between Comrade Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee, and Comrade Khaled Bakdash, secretary general of the Syrian Communist Party, there was consensus that the struggle for a comprehensive peace settlement in the Middle East requires above all the unity of all progressive forces of the Arab countries.

The fundamental problem of a peace settlement in the Middle East is the withdrawal of the Israeli forces from all Arab territories occupied in 1976 and the implementation of the legitimate rights of the Arab people of Palestine, including its right to found a national state of its own.

In Comrade Herman Axen talks with Farug al-Qaddumi, head of the PLO's political department, the firm solidarity of the SED and the GDR people with the struggle of the Palestinian people was affirmed. At the side of the Soviet Union and the other fraternal socialist states, the GDR will utilize all possibilities to support the struggle for a comprehensive peace settlement in the Middle East.

The Party's Militant Strength, Authority and Ties With the Masses

Comrades, in the period under review the Politburo has devoted constant attention to the further improvement of our party's militant strength, its close ties with the masses and the creative working style of the party organs. The results and achievements of the working people in implementing the decisions of the Ninth Party Congress reflect the high activity of the party and labor collectives and qualified leadership activity.

This is manifested primarily:

--In the conscious and resourceful work of the party organizations, the growing political maturity of the members and candidate members of our party and their uniform and concerted actions;

--In the greater ability of the party members to shape the ideopolitical work in close contact with the masses effectively and to convincingly answer the questions posed by life with a firm class position;

--It also turns out that in new initiatives for the fulfillment of the main task the communists play a mobilizing role, leading the way and promoting creative activities. The rich treasure of the working peoples experiences is being more profoundly utilized and purposefully generalized.

The report submitted by the Karl-Marx-Stadt Bezirk leadership to the Politburo confirmed that the further successful implementation of the party congress decisions and the greater readiness and activity of the workers class and of all working people are inseparably linked with the constant increase of the quality of ideopolitical work.

The Politburo drew the attention of the Karl-Marx-Stadt Bezirk leadership to the need for consistently continuing to pursue the chosen road of concentrating leadership work on the further intensification of the national economy, so as to insure that in line with its great political, scientific-technical and economic potential the bezirk makes a more and more weighty contribution to the further dynamic development of the GDR economy's effectiveness.

Comrades! Proceeding from the reports of the bezirk and kreis leadership and of the basic organizations, the Politburo stressed that it is necessary to constantly further increase our party's leading role in all spheres of social life. To this end the conscious work and share in responsibility of every comrade is to be still more promoted. To cope with the growing demands on the comprehensiveness of the leadership activity, all leaderships must always focus their attention on the constant preservation of the unity of politics, ideology and economy.

Here the ideopolitical work of the leading party organs and of the basic organizations is gaining more and more in importance. With the superior weapons of the Marxist-Leninist world outlook and the successes that we have scored, the correctness of our road is to be conspicuously and convincingly depicted.

We need everywhere a firm class position and close ties with our state, the GDR. In all basic organizations it is necessary to wage the fundamental contest with the bourgeois ideology still more offensively.

By pointing out the deep crisis of capitalism, its faults and crimes, the capitalist system's lack of prospects and misanthropy are to be unmasked even more thoroughly. Every citizen is to be made aware of the fact that there is an unbridgable class barricade between socialism and capitalism.

Comrades, the Politburo emphasizes particularly that the National Economic Plan is the fighting program of the party and of every basic organization. Accordingly, it is a priority task of the leading party organs and the basic organizations to further develop the working peoples initiatives in socialist competition and to direct them even more strongly to the socialist intensification,

especially to the acceleration of scientific-technical progress. Along these lines our party's economic propaganda as well as the guidance and aid of the kreis leaderships for the basic organizations should become still more concrete and effective.

The internal party life, furthermore, is to be shaped in such a way that every comrade always occupies a class-minded position, fulfills with discipline and responsibility the tasks assigned to him, and that in this process he experiences the constant aid of his party collective.

Members meetings at which the tasks and the most effective ways for solving them are discussed in a creative atmosphere, extensive honorary work, regular accountability reports and good party group work are the hallmarks of a basic organization that successfully leads the whole party collective to the implementation of the decisions of the Ninth Party Congress.

Comrades, at the bezirk party aktiv meetings for evaluating the second Central Committee Plenum the 1976/77 party school year was opened at the bezirks. Politburo members passed on to the party activists valuable experiences and arguments on topical questions of our policy, and drew the attention of the bezirk and kreis leaderships to the intensification of the Marxist-Leninist education work at all basic organizations.

The meeting of Comrade Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee, with a delegation of the Urania Presidium headed by its chairman, Professor Dr Eng Dr H. C. Eberhard Leibnitz, was of great significance for Urania's work to further deepen ideological education.

At the decision of the Central Committee Secretariat, a social scientists conference was held in November at which Comrade Kurt Hager delivered the report. The conference oriented on increasing the quality of theoretical work in close contact with social practice and on intensifying the ideological effectiveness of the social sciences. It is necessary to achieve research results with a high practical utility for directing and shaping social processes, and to contribute even more effectively to the spreading of Marxism-Leninism.

Comrades, in the period under review the Politburo and the Central Committee Secretariat dealt with the tasks of the party in preparing and carrying out elections in mass organizations.

A significant trait of the trade union elections held so far is the growing readiness of the workers class and all working people to implement the decisions of the Ninth SED Congress through high performances. A high attendance rate of the election rallies, creative and businesslike exchange of views on the achieved results and on the future tasks, as well as a multitude of ideas and initiatives mark the climate of the trade union elections.

Also, in the future implementation of trade union elections the bezirk and kreis leaderships as well as the basic organizations in line with the Politburo resolution should see to it that the trade union leaderships be given strong support and that the party members work actively in the trade union organizations.

The FDU and pioneer elections were completely marked by the evaluation of the Ninth SED Congress and the 10th FDJ Parliament. The election of many young party members and candidate members into the FDJ leaderships the party nucleus in the youth association was further strengthened. The party leaderships gave the youth association and the pioneer organization strong support in the implementation of their elections. Now they should pay appropriate attention to the qualification of the newly elected FDJ and pioneer functionaries.

The more than 100,000 parents rallies at the schools, attended by 2 million citizens, became an important mass-political forum. About 500,000 activists were elected into grade parents aktivs [klassenelternaktive] and together with the parents advisory councils they constitute an important democratic institution of our society.

The Central Committee Secretariat discussed the tasks that arise for the DFD [Democratic Women's League of Germany] in implementing the decisions of the Ninth Party Congress as well as for the preparation and implementation of elections in this organization.

It was decided to aim at further increasing the DFD's influence on housewives, women of artisans and small trade circles as well as women of the Christian populace.

It is necessary to utilize still more purposefully all local possibilities and reserves that can serve to improve the living conditions of working mothers in residential areas. This task should be actively supported by the residential area party organizations.

Comrades, the Politburo report reflects the fact that the Ninth Party Congress decisions are standing their test in life and that they are being purposefully implemented.

Relying on the high militant strength of our Marxist-Leninist party, on the great initiatives of the working people and the close ties of the party with the masses, we are turning to the further task with optimism.

CSO: 2300

EAST GERMANY

DEPUTY DEFENSE MINISTER SPEAKS AT SED CC PLENUM

East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 11-12 Dec 76 p 4 AU

[From the speech by Adm Waldemar Verner, member of the SED Central Committee, deputy minister of national defense and chief of the main political administration of the National People's Army [NVA], during the debate at the Fourth Plenum of the SED Central Committee on 9 December in Berlin]

[Text] Dear Comrades! The achievements accomplished since the Ninth Party Congress by members of the army and border soldiers for the further increase of the fighting strength and combat readiness confirm the assessment in the report of the Politburo, namely that our socialist state is firmly, stably and reliably protected. The firm conviction of the members of the army and the border soldiers that they are fulfilling an honorable, patriotic and internationalist duty through the reliable military protection of the GDR manifests itself increasingly stronger in their pride over the successful results on our road, in their cohesion with the SED, the workers class and all working people, in their loyalty to our socialist states, and in their unshakable belief in the secure prospects of our republic at the side of the Soviet Union and the other fraternal countries, which is again clearly demonstrated in the plan documents before us.

They defend with awareness and with passionate devotion a state in which the people under the leadership of the party, while marching in step with loyal class brothers and friends, are shaping life in accordance with the ideals of socialism and communism. They are consciously defending an effective, crisis-free national economy that also creates the material prerequisites for our national defense. They are consciously defending scientific-technical achievements of international standards, a flourishing spiritual-cultural life, the magnificent social program that is being gradually implemented and the harmonious development of all spheres of life. These are achievements of the political rule of the workers class to which we want to add new ones that we, the soldiers, will never let anyone touch.

Well-Trained Troops and Staffs

At a recent commanders meeting Army Gen Heinz Hoffmann, member of the Politburo of the SED Central Committee and minister of national defense, could assess during the evaluation of the last training year that the armed forces and

border troops of our country have measured up to the expectations of the workers class and its party, of our working people and our allies. All leadership organs and troops tested last year received the evaluation mark "combat ready." They repeatedly proved their ability to assume in time a higher stage of combat readiness and to perform successfully, even under complicated conditions.

The rising level of political training, theoretically more demanding and increasingly closer linked with the problems of military life and the achieved higher degree of closeness to combat conditions of the planning, organization and implementation of combat training of the units, troops and groups of units yielded tangible results. The decisive importance of the firm comradeship in arms with the Soviet army and the other fraternal armies is provided in this connection.

Our soldiers see in the successful advance of the GDR and its armed forces the effects of the invincible strength of the workers class and the entire working people. During the draft calls held twice annually we feel the great changes that are taking place among our youths and particularly their growing political maturity, their moral qualities that are growing firmer and their rising educational level. We receive young people and from among them increasingly better cadres who have grown up under socialism and who are called upon and willing to continue and to protect the great work of shaping the developed socialist society and its gradual transition to communism. This is to a high degree due to the merits of purposeful socialist paramilitary education performed under the leadership of the party in the mass media, the FDJ, the FDG B, the gymnastics and sports league of the GDR, the society for sports and technology, in the enterprises and institutions and, last but not least, in the popular education system.

The results of socialist paramilitary education manifest themselves among our soldiers in the unity of words and deeds that was particularly impressively demonstrated during the preparations and the holding of the people's selections.

In individual talks and at meetings deliberations were made in an open-minded and constructive spirit of true democratic participation on the basis of the decisions of the Ninth Party Congress regarding questions of a higher quality of political and combat training, higher reliability in the duty system, on combat duty and in securing the borders. The discussion involved the even better mastery, servicing and repair of complicated technical combat equipment. The discussion involved the further strengthening of the socialist relations in the military collectives, the overcoming of obstacles on the way to high combat readiness and the question of how the measures of the party's sociopolitical program, the results of which are having further tangible effects in the garri-son of the NVA and the border troops, can be gradually implemented further.

The development of our armed forces reflects on the whole the conviction of the army members and border soldiers that they are living in a state that is their own state in the literal meaning of the word and that pursues a policy which is in accordance with their inherent vital interests and those of the entire people. This is being again clearly shown by the draft of the Five-Year Plan for the

development of the GDR national economy in 1976-80 and in the draft of the 1977 national economic plan. The army members find this concurrence also fully confirmed by the joint foreign, security and military policy of the Warsaw Pact states. Our soldiers realize full well the importance and the weight of the international activities of the GDR. The members of the NVA and the border troops draw from it moral fortitude. They are fulfilling their military duty with the awareness that through the reliable military protection of socialism and the securing of peace and the further assertion of the principles of peaceful coexistence in the relations between states with different social systems they act in the spirit of the historical mission of the workers class. They back unanimously the Bucharest Declaration of the Warsaw Pact states and apply all strength to the implementation of the great goals of the struggle for security and peace, for further pushing back the aggressive forces of imperialism. The moral-political strength of the fraternal socialist armies and their high combat readiness contribute to making imperialism take further steps of political detente and measures of military detente.

The proposals contained in the Bucharest Declaration for concluding a treaty among all signatory states of the final document of Helsinki, not to be the first to use nuclear weapons against each other, and for arms limitations and disarmament are meeting with great approval among the NVA, the border troops as well as all working people of our country.

Our assessments in the NVA also lead to the conclusion drawn in the report of the Politburo that it is necessary to make every citizen even more aware of the unsurmountable class barrier that exists between socialism and capitalism.

We must, therefore, make it convincingly clear in our agitation and propaganda that there is no cause for underestimating the war-thirsty politicians and military leaders of the military-industrial complex of monopolist capital and the NATO armed forces. It is true, as Comrade Brezhnev also said in his speech at the October Plenum, that the danger of war, particularly in Europe, is reduced thanks to the strength and power of the community of states rallied round the USSR, the international workers class, the national liberation movement and all peace forces in the world.

This presupposes at the same time that further progress along the path of socialism and peace must be won against the growing resistance of the reactionary imperialist forces. As stated in the declaration, we must, in view of this situation, take all required measures to always reliably insure the security of the socialist peoples as long as the NATO bloc continues to exist and to expand its military potential.

This makes it necessary that the required efforts for national defense must be made in order to effectively assist in making the process of detente irreversible and to push imperialism further back. In full agreement with the implementation of the principle of the most economical use of financial and material funds and acting from the viewpoint of highest effectiveness we will do everything in the NVA and the border troops of the GDR for an increase of fighting strength and combat readiness.

The economic and scientific-technical tasks for securing [the needs of] the armed forces require in all spheres implementation according to plan after the drawing up of correlated balance sheets.

The implementation of the plan documents before us for the long-term period and for next year will create essential material prerequisites for the further development of the NVA and the border troops of the GDR in accordance with the yardsticks set up by the Ninth Party Congress.

Peace Needs Strong Socialist Armies

In view of the dangers emanating from imperialism we need even deeper understanding of the fact that our peace struggle must base itself on strong socialist armed forces. We must take into account that the development of NATO, which is the decisive tool for the implementation of the strategic goals of imperialism within the framework of long-term planning, is aimed at a redeployment of its forces for a comprehensive offensive against socialism on all fronts of the class struggle. The striving is becoming increasingly more pronounced to wage this struggle as a result of the arms race from a higher level of military threat and to lend it new impulses through the close interlacing of ideopolitical, economic and military efforts.

It is a slap in the face of all professions of peace and detente if the NATO states and primarily the United States and the FRG, envisage for the next 10 years high growth rates of their military budgets. It is the unequivocal goal of the gigantic armament efforts of NATO--and this was only recently reaffirmed by Adm Hill Norton at the meeting of the NATO military committee--to achieve in essential fields military superiority over the Warsaw Pact forces.

This is to be insured through a qualitative but also quantitative strengthening of the strategic attack potential, through an addition to and modernization of combat troop control and reconnaissance technology which exceeds by far the degree of a regular renewal of armament and equipment and through the further intensification of training, far-reaching structural changes and the build-up of complex troop control systems as well as of new or more precise principles of operations and troops control. This armament program is being closely linked with the mounting anti-communist education of the members of the NATO forces.

Class Vigilance Is Called for Also in the Future

Thus the psychological rearmament of the Bundeswehr, which is focused with all the methods of imperialist manipulation at communism and continues to be focused on it, has reached an unprecedented scope. The cold war spectres are assembling for hysterical anticommunist attacks against the USSR, the GDR and the other socialist states. No means is dirty enough and no lie is absurd enough for them, from ideological incitement and subversive work to border provocations and the insidious foul assassination of GDR border guards with judicial blessings whenever they believe themselves able to thus harm socialism.

All this underscores the need for high class vigilance and confirms the statement by Comrade Erich Honecker at our second plenum: "Safeguarding Internal and External Security is the Core of Our Politics."

Our party has always heeded Vladimir Ilich Lenin's finding that a revolution is only worth anything if it knows how to defend itself, as well as the experiences of the militant road of the CPSU and the international workers movement in the 6 decades since the great October Socialist Revolution. The military class assignment stipulated by the Ninth Party Congress demands that we further temper ideologically the army members and border guards and that we enable them any time and under any conditions to fulfill their duty as politically aware, steadfast defenders of socialism. This requires that the members of the NVA and GDR border troops be trained even more effectively be conducted to high military mastership and that the necessary combat readiness be always safeguarded, thereby strengthening the party's fighting strength constitutes the key to further successes in implementing the party's congress decisions.

I may assure the Central Committee, Politburo and Comrade Erich Honecker that the NVA and the GDR border troops, together with all other security and protective organs of our state, side by side with the glorious Soviet army and all fraternal armies, will devote their entire strength to the dependable protection of socialism and peace.

CSO: 2300

SCHUERER AT SED CC PLENUM ON NEW ECONOMIC PLANS

East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 10 Dec 76 p 3-4 AU

[From the report delivered by Gerhard Schuerer, candidate member of the SED Central Committee Politburo, deputy chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers and chairman of the GDR State Plan Commission, on the drafts of the 1976-80 and 1977 national economic plans to the Fourth Plenum of the SED Central Committee on 8 December in Berlin]

[Text] Dear Comrades!

Submitted to the Fourth Central Committee Plenum for deliberation are the drafts for the law on the Five-Year Plan for the development of the GDR national economy in 1976-80 and the law on the 1977 National Economic Plan. The goals and tasks of the draft laws are based on the Ninth Party Congress decisions and especially on the Central Committee report delivered by Comrade Erich Honecker, and the directive for the Five-Year Plan as well as the results of the second Central Committee Plenum and several intensive deliberations of the Politburo and the Council of Ministers.

The following are the main characteristics of the draft for the Five-Year Plan:

First: The 1976-80 Five-Year Plan is for the benefit of the workers class and all working people and contributes to the further shaping the developed socialist society in the GDR, thus creating basic prerequisites for the gradual transition to communism.

It is designed to further comprehensively strengthen the GDR as a socialist worker-peasant state.

Second: The Five-Year Plan consistently seeks to resolve the main task to make the unity of economic and social policy increasingly closer. Under this Five-Year Plan we are implementing the greatest sociopolitical program in the history of our people. With its core, the housing construction program, the plan draft is based on the continuation of the sociopolitical measures that became effective after the Eighth Party Congress and on the further implementation of the "Joint decision of the SED Central Committee, the FDGB Federal Executive, and the GDR Council of Ministers on the working and living conditions of the working people in the 1976-80 period" point by point.

The foundations for this are the stable, proportional and dynamic growth of social production and its effectiveness and the greatest possible improvement in the quality of work in all spheres of the national economy.

It is necessary to multiply the assets of the people, to strengthen the material-technical base and to further enhance the spiritual-cultural level of the working class and all other working people.

In this spirit the goals of the Five-Year Plan are directed at increasingly better utilizing the advantages of socialism.

Third: The draft plan is based on a higher stage of intensification of social production.

This is to be primarily achieved through the acceleration of scientific-technical progress, comprehensive rationalization of production for boosting labor productivity and by the most effective use of basic assets, raw materials, materials and the social labor potential.

These are the essential prerequisites for insuring stable growth rates and for a further improvement of the cost-result ratio everywhere.

Fourth: Consistently implementing the complex program, socialist economic integration with the CEMA countries will be strengthened and deepened under the Five-Year Plan for mutual benefit. It provides a stable basis for the development of the national economy of our republic.

Of outstanding importance in this connection is, in agreement with the treaty on friendship, cooperation and mutual assistance between the GDR and the USSR of 7 October 1975, the increasingly closer economic and scientific-technical cooperation with the Soviet Union, the main force of world socialism and our most important economic partner.

Fifth: The further strengthening of our economic power in the 1976-80 Five-Year Plan period is of great importance for the GDR peace policy which serves the progress of detente and security in Europe and the world.

The tasks for the comprehensive economic securing of national defense, internal order and security are thus also integral parts of the economic policy of our socialist state.

Sixth: The Five-Year Plan tasks are under the leadership of our party being coshaped by millions of working people.

The drafts of the 1976-80 Five-Year Plan and the 1977 National Economic Plan contain many proposals, thoughts and commitments submitted by workers, cooperative peasants, members of the intelligentsia and other working people with the certainty that only socialism guarantees social security and clear prospects for all.

Intensive work for the further material and scientific-technical substantiation of the directive adopted by the Ninth Party Congress was performed on all levels of our national economy. Now there is a concrete plan draft worked out by years, with such comprehensive plan sections as the plan for science and technology. The plan for intensification and rationalization, the plan of socialist economic integration and foreign trade, the main target figures for the economical use of materials and the main national economic target figures and balance sheets.

The comprehensive deliberations with the first secretaries of the bezirk leaderships and the bezirk council chairmen were of a great importance, deliberations which contributed to a further increase of performance and to the better coordinating of branch and territorial development and at which important measures to improve the working peoples work and living conditions were discussed and coordinated.

The development of the capital, Berlin, assumed a special place in all plan deliberations. The Politburo decision to develop our capital is a firm part of our Five-Year Plan draft. Its implementation is insured through the high performance of industry, construction and other branches in the capital itself, through the active support of all bezirke and through the "FDJ Initiative Berlin."

A Consistent and Dynamic Economic Growth Is Continued

As Comrade Erich Honecker said at the second Central Committee Plenum, the main goals of the Five-Year Plan continue to envisage a consistent and dynamic economic growth. This is confirmed by the main target figures listed in the draft law, such as a growth in the national income until 1980 up to 127.9 percent, of industrial goods production up to 134 percent, construction output up to 127.6 percent, plant production in agriculture up to 120 percent, retail trade turnover up to 121.5 percent and of the transport and communications output up to 122.1 percent.

We have ambitious plans, the plan targets are demanding but at the same time realistic and the task that must be resolved is big.

One can justly state with the 1971-75 Five-Year Plan a solid basis was created since the Eighth Party Congress for the successful implementation of the future tasks, as was so impressively expressed in the Central Committee report to the Ninth Party Congress.

Among the positive conditions for the implementation of the Five-Year Plan are, above all, the development state of socialist society in the GDR, the size of our national economy, the scope of its funds, the growing spiritual and material potential of science and technology as well as the mature sense of responsibility, creative energy and initiative of the workers class and all working people.

That the further planned deepening of cooperation in science, technology and production as well as the exchange of goods with the USSR and the other CEMA members are based on firm agreements is also of great value. This provides the plan with greater certainty and stability.

The draft of the Five-Year Plan contains the proposals of many enterprises, combines, cooperatives and institutions for attaining the targets of the Ninth Party Congress directive. The Five-Year Plans, which for the first time are detailed down to the enterprise level, provide a good basis for management and planning as well as a guideline for working out the annual national economic and enterprise plans as well as for long-term economic contracts.

As does every long-range plan, the 1976-80 plan sets tasks and aims for targets that in the course of the plan fulfillment must be implemented through the creative energy and wealth of ideas of the people, through scientific management and organization of work. The Politburo and the Council of Ministers attributes outstanding importance in this connection to the mobilization role of the counterplans and socialist competition for the fulfillment of the Five-Year Plan. Detailing the Five-Year Plan down to the level of combines and enterprises creates favorable prerequisites for the development of initiatives within the framework of counter plans.

Work and Living Conditions Are Further Improved According to the Plan

The objectives related to further enhancing the material and cultural living standard of the population adopted by the Ninth Party Congress are a firm component part of the formulated draft plans.

In 1980 the annual commodity turnover for supplies to the population will reach M100 billion, that is M36 billion more than in 1970. Some M55 billion will be allocated to comprehensive housing construction in these 5 years and M50 billion will be spent to continue the social program of the Eighth Party Congress and the implementation of the "joint decision of the SED Central Committee, the FDGB Federal Executive, and the GDR Council of Ministers on the further planned improvement of the working and living conditions of the working people in the 1976-80 period."

The joint decision elicited great response everywhere in our country and found unanimous approval. Additional obligations to boost labor productivity were undertaken in this connection in many enterprises in the socialist competition.

The performances of the building industry and industry required for the construction of 750,000 apartments are contained in the plan tasks and constitute a solid basis for the material balance sheets of the draft plan.

With the outstanding initiatives of the building workers as well as of the working people in the prefabricated parts and subcontractor products industry 12,500 apartments were completed by 30 November for the year of 1976. This is a great achievement in plan fulfillment and at the same time an apt response on the part of the working people to the FDGB appeal to create 100,000 apartments in excess of plan through the mobilization of additional reserves in a counterplan.

We are firmly convinced that it will be possible with the assistance of the entire population--the building workers and construction engineers, the architects and city planners, the working people in the subcontractor industries

and of all the citizens participating in the "join in" contest of the national front to beautify our towns and villages--to successfully realize the greatest apartment-building program in the history of our people and to further improve the housing conditions of millions of people.

Our efforts in the field of supplies to the population are primarily aimed at stable and durable solutions, at a high quality production according to requirements. The draft plan is based on the fact that as producers we manufacture those commodities we wish as consumers and that agree with our working peoples' needs and taste. Thus the material incentive to achieve high performances and the active influence of the consumers on production are to be brought to bear even more effectively.

Great efforts are necessary by the working people in the consumer goods industry --that is in light industry, in the branches that manufacture technical consumer goods, the glass and ceramics industries, the bezirk controlled industry and the foodstuffs industry--but also in the enterprises making means of production to accomplish the development of the consumer goods production envisaged by the draft law. All the possibilities must be exploited to boost the capacities of small and medium enterprises and to further promote the crafts. It is possible frequently only with few state means and through transfers of machines and installations from centrally controlled enterprises and through territorial rationalization measures to develop vast reserves.

For further improving supplies it also is necessary to link production, trade and the service sectors even more closely, to shorten commodity channels and waiting periods, to enhance trade standards and to modernize services to customers.

The draft law contains the tasks for public education, vocational training and higher and professional school education necessary for the further continuous development of education.

In public education the 10-grade general educational polytechnical secondary school as the core of the uniform socialist education system is to be further improved with respect to its content. It is above all important constantly to raise the standards of the secondary school education, to consolidate the unity of instruction and communist education and to bring all children to completing the 10th grade.

A total of 16,200 classrooms and some 750 school gymnasiums are to be newly built in the Five-Year Plan period and the investments for the special school education as well as for assistance to youth and for education in homes are to be further increased in order to create more favorable study conditions for the students as well as better working conditions for the teachers and educators.

Great attention must be devoted to the training and education of roughly 1 million school graduates as skilled laborers. The main emphasis is to be placed on enhancing the performance standard of the skilled workers and on their

employment in keeping with national economic requirements. In higher and professional school education the cardinal task consists of shaping the training so as to insure that the graduates possess a well founded expert knowledge that is ready for use as well as a high political knowledge and that they are closely linked with the workers class. The training is conducted in an even more practice related manner.

In agreement with the interests of the workers class and of the entire people the draft plan envisages further growing social expenditures on the health and social services, on recreation, the development of physical culture and sports, radio and television as well as of the arts and culture.

Science and Technology Are the Key to Increasing Performances

When elaborating the Five-Year Draft Plan for 1976-80 we let ourselves be consistently guided by the assignment of the Ninth SED Congress to substantially deepen intensification as the decisive element of the further continuous and dynamic development of the national economy and to develop and bring to bear for this purpose the quality factors of production growth complexly.

The Five-Year Draft Plan is based on the finding that stepping up scientific-technical progress has become the key problem of a performance increase in the coming few years.

The achievement of the target, proposed by the draft plan, of insuring through scientific-technical measures 60-70 percent of the labor productivity increase and 80 percent of the material savings and to annually economize 240-260 million work hours in industry and construction--tantamount to the labor potential of 125,000-135,000 workmen that would be otherwise necessary to accomplish the planned performance--this achievement is a bond for the implementation of the entire plan. The output of commodities with the "Q" quality sign is to be boosted up to more than 200 percent and the production of new and further developed products is to be doubled.

The draft plan contains tasks related to the further development of basic research and the immediate transfer of such research results into the production that is highly significant for stepping up effectiveness in the national economy as well as tasks related to enhancing the effectiveness of research work itself.

The draft plan for science and technology stipulates tasks with the objective of codetermining the international standard for important products and techniques and of enabling an appropriate central control. The ministers, directors general of the VBB's and combines and the enterprise managers were instructed to include in their plans further specific targets related to enhancing the capacity, and the quality and reliability of their products, processes and techniques. Enhancing the scientific-technical production level has become a cardinal problem whose solution decisively determines our national economic aims.

Measures are envisaged to further intensify technological research and for the more extensive employment of technologists in the enterprises and combines.

In 1976-80 4-2 percent of the national income is to be employed for a more effective promotion of science and technology. This is some M35 billion, M10 billion more than under the past Five-Year Plan. Thus the growth rate of expenses for science and technology is greater than the growth rate of the national income.

The tasks that must be solved in the coming few years in research, development and production are levelling great demands on the effectiveness of the work of the scientists in the academy of sciences, the other academies, the universities and colleges, scientific institutes and institutions and on the resourcefulness and inventiveness of the technicians and engineers in the enterprises and combines.

But, they also demand that all managers in the state and economy even more consistently focus work in the scientific-technical field on maximal national economic and social results. Scientific-technical tasks are solved once the national economic utility effect has been dependably insured in a continuous production.

We also confidently count on the outstanding initiatives and the excellent performances of thousands of workers, including many youths, who as innovators, rationalizers, participants in the fair of the Masters of Tomorrow and as initiators of the scientific-technical work organization are making a constantly growing contribution to enhancing the effectiveness of production and to improving the work and living conditions in all spheres of the national economy.

In working out the draft plan we aspired to securing the power and raw material base for the envisaged production development and to achieving a new quality in enforcing the economical use of materials.

Slightly more than 60 percent of the investments of industry will be employed in capital intensive [fondsintensive] raw material producing branches. The GDR is participating with M8 billion in the development of raw material deposits in the USSR and in other socialist countries.

It is of a great national economic significance that the working people of our soft coal industry are producing 1.27 billion tons of soft coal in this Five-Year Plan period. With this 63.5 percent of the primary power consumption is defrayed from domestic raw material resources and 78 percent of the GDR's electric power is generated on the basis of domestic cruye soft coal.

In working out the Five-Year Plan particular attention was focused on developing chemical industry and its material-technical basis.

The exertions of the working people of the basic materials industry to insure the power and raw material base must be supported by all sectors of social production with effective measures for the efficient use and saving of power, raw materials and materials.

In keeping with the directive the Five-Year Plan sets forth the task of reducing by an annual average of 3 percent the specific expenditures of national economically important energy media [energietraeger] and raw materials in the 1976-80 period.

Measures were stipulated in the plan to boost lightweight construction, to use power more rationally and to utilize our secondary raw materials better. It is necessary in this context to use even more intensely norms and standards that agree with the most progressive experiences and most recent scientific findings.

The progress on the road of intensification in the years 1976-80 depends to a great extent on how successful we are in enhancing the effectiveness of our entire investment activities and in fully utilizing the vast potential of the basic assets.

In this Five-Year Plan period we shall invest a total of M234 billion in our national economy, including more than M116 billion for modern high performance machinery, installations and equipment. This constitutes a tremendous reinforcement of the material-technical base which must be fully used for enhancing the capability of our national economy.

Carrying out our investment program in this Five-Year Plan period levels great demands against the performances of the working people of the investment goods industry, particularly of the machine-building industry and the electrical engineering and electronics industry. This is particularly so because the metal-processing industry is at the same time also the most important pillar of our exports and an important producer of industrial consumer goods.

This is why the 1976-80 draft plan envisages an above-average production increase for this branch: 139.6 percent in 1980 compared with 1975 for the heavy machine and installations building industry; 156 percent for the toolmaking and processing machine-building industry; 142 percent for the general machine-building, agricultural machine-building and vehicle building industries; and 145.7 percent for the electrotechnical and electronics industries.

The supply in keeping with requirements of variety, quality and time primarily of machine tools, machines and equipment for the power economy, chemical industry and the consumer goods industry, of transport and conveying means and assembly services is of a decisive importance for the implementation of investment projects according to plan.

Specific measures were stipulated by the Five-Year Plan for increasing the rate of effectiveness of the investments and for insuring the precise preparation and concentrated execution of the investments. It is above all important in this context to concentrate forces and means, to secure the interconnections with the preceding and succeeding production phases in the plans and to more precisely fashion the drawing up of balance sheets broken down into the operations of specific building trades [gewerke].

The main emphasis in our investment activities is placed on the comprehensive rationalization of production. The on-the-spot production of rationalization means is highly important for the implementation of the enterprise investment programs.

The draft plan envisages an increase of up to more than 167 percent in the on-the-spot manufacture of rationalization means in the national economy during the Five-Year Plan period. Altogether this amounts to rationalization means valued at least M8.8 billion in the 5 years.

With the rationalization prerequisites are being created for more intensely releasing manpower so as to make better use of the available equipment and installations under a shiftwork system and to insure the reduction in work hours that is contained in the joint decision, while boosting the production.

The draft plan in question is based on purposeful work on increasing the production and quality of subcontractors' products.

Just as for industry and the building industry, the draft law also contains exacting plan targets for the development of such economic sectors as transport posts and telecommunication as well as for the water economy and environmental protection.

Intensification of Agriculture--Basis for the Stable Supply

With the 1976-80 Five-Year Plan, the production and its effectiveness in agriculture and in the foodstuff economy is to be systematically increased, so as to insure a stable, constantly improving supply to the people with high-quality foodstuffs and to industry with raw materials, as well as to bring village living conditions closer to those of towns.

The 1976-80 draft plan sets high tasks for the cooperative peasants, for all working people in agriculture and the foodstuff economy, to raise the plant and animal production through the further intensification of agriculture and through application of industrial methods, through deepening the processes of the division of labor, of concentration, specialization and cooperation.

The decisive foundation for a high production level of agriculture and thus for a stable and continuous supply of our people is an increase of the yields of plant production to 46-48 decitons [1 deciton = 100 kilos] of grain units per hectare by 1980. What is necessary is to intensively utilize every square meter of soil and to achieve a high yield stability, especially of grain, potatoes, sugar beet, fruit and vegetables as well as of the fodder crops. This is also necessary so as to insure by 1980 the planned market production of 2,300 kilotons of slaughter animals and 8,200 kilotons of milk as well as 4.3 million eggs.

The plan draft proceeds from the premise that the further intensive development of agriculture requires great efforts in this sector, while it is and will remain at the same time a concern of the entire national economy. As envisaged

in the directive, it will be possible through the increase in industrial output to supply in the period 1976-80 to the agricultural producer cooperatives and state farms 49,000 tractors, 7,050 harvester-threshers, 5,000 precision pickup choppers, 5,100 windrow harvesters as well as growing quantities of fertilizers, plant protectives and pesticides.

The experiences of 3 years of unfavorable weather conditions with large crop losses in plant production within the past 5 years induced us to include in the Five-Year Draft Plan additional measures for insuring stable agricultural production, measures which require increased endeavors in many sectors of the national economy and in agriculture itself.

Great work is still to be done to create the material-technical prerequisites for 520,000 hectares of irrigation area including 320,000 hectares of overhead irrigation area.

The draft plan also provides for a quicker increase of straw pellet production.

In the next few years, the greenhouse areas near the capital, the bezirk cities and further workers centers are to be expanded. Intensive work to this end is being done.

The workers in the foodstuff industry bear a great responsibility for insuring that the produced agricultural raw materials be processed with minimum losses and that the supply of the people with products in the required qualities and varieties be further improved.

The Socialist Economic Integration Strengthens Our Potential

The socialist economic integration and foreign trade plan is a constituent part of the Five-Year Plan that is of great importance.

With the 1976-80 Five-Year Plan we are consistently continuing the tested course of deepening socialist economic integration the road of jointly solving the tasks in science, technology and production in the interest of strengthening the economic potential of the GDR and of all countries of the community and of increasing the effectiveness of production on a higher level.

A factor of vital importance for the stable development of our economy is the raw material imports agreed on with the USSR for the period 1976-80, such as 88.2 million tons of oil, 21.6 billion cubic meters of natural gas, 21 million tons of bituminous coal, 15.9 million tons of rolled steel, 375,000 tons of cellulose, 425,000 tons of cotton and 212,000 tons of copper. Through participating in investments for developing raw materials deposits in the USSR and other CEMA countries, we are creating essential prerequisites for covering our future raw material requirements even after 1980.

The draft plan is based on such important integration projects as the participation in the construction of the UST-ILIM Cellulose Combine, the Kijembai [as published] Asbestos Combine, the Drzhba Pipeline and other projects.

With Optimism and Certainty of Victory on the Road of the Ninth Party Congress

The draft of the 1977 plan is an organized constituent part of the Five-Year Plan. It proceeds from the results of the 1976 plan implementation and provides for the steady continuation of the hitherto accomplished progress in the intensification of production and the improvement of the material and cultural living standard of the people.

The main target figures of the 1977 National Economic Plan draft law, such as the growth of national income to 105.5 percent, of industrial goods production to 105.1 percent, of construction output to 104.7 percent, of production and services in agriculture and in the foodstuff economy to 102.8 percent of the goods turnover to 104 percent and of foreign trade turnover to 108.7 percent are in line with the basic aims of the Five-Year Plan and the targets stipulated in it for 1977.

In 1977, further comprehensive measures for improving the working and living conditions of our citizens will become effective in line with the joint resolution of the SED Central Committee, the FOGB Federal Executive and the GDR Council of Ministers. This will undoubtedly mobilize the working people to great working feats and will be an incentive for their devoting all their energy to the fulfillment and overfulfillment of the plan.

In this context it is to be highly appreciated that at many enterprises, under the leadership of the party organizations together with the trade unions, good initiatives are being developed for better utilization of working time and for reducing down times, for full compliance with the 5-day work week and for asserting great order and discipline at the working place. This movement should be broadened to include all enterprises.

Great efforts are necessary to insure that through a high increase in the subcontractor products output and in the production of machinery and equipment for implementing investments, for exports and for the production of consumer goods, the material-technical demand for the economy and for the supply of the people be met in accordance with the plan in the required variety, to a high quality and in a punctual manner.

We are convinced that the workers class, the working people of our republic, proceeding from today's Central Committee Plenum and the coming People's Chamber meeting, will do everything to fulfill and overfulfill the envisaged performance targets, especially concerning labor productivity, from the very first day of the year of 1977.

This will make the greatest demands on the political level, on the quality and organization of management, from the Council of Ministers, the ministers, the directors general of the associations of state enterprises down to the managers of the enterprises and institutions.

If we especially stress the responsibility of the managers then we are doing this because a manager's ability for scientific management constitutes a decisive prerequisite for leading a collective to high achievements. The promotion of the working peoples activities in socialist competition constitutes a high political duty of every manager.

We attach extraordinarily great importance to such trade union initiatives as "to work as early as in the fourth quarter of 1976 in accordance with the 1977 target figures, to overfulfill the planned labor productivity, or to work consistently in accordance with quality programs."

This year's fair of the Masters of Tomorrow and the other economic initiatives of the FDJ have again confirmed that especially our young generation is also making an important contribution to this. In socialist competition, activities such as the "initiative 40," developed at the Hildburghausen Screw and Standard Parts Works, which help insure that the reduction of working hours resulting from sociopolitical measures is assured while production is increasing, or the "shift guarantee" developed in Leuna, which contributes to the continuity and quality of the production process, should be more widely expanded.

Positive experiences and important lessons for the 1977 plan, both for waging the socialist competition and for the management and planning on all levels of the national economy, are to be derived from the enterprise intensification conferences that took place in the past few weeks under the direction of the bezirk party organization.

Summing up, one can say:

With the implementation of the 1976-80 Five-Year Plan, an important stretch of the road to further raising of the material and cultural living standard of man, to perfecting the material-technical base of the national economy and the all-round strengthening and consolidation of the socialist GDR in the community of the fraternal socialist countries will be accomplished. With optimism and certainty of victory the GDR people fulfill the tasks of the Ninth SED Congress for the further shaping of the developed socialist society and thus for creating fundamental prerequisites for the gradual transition to communism.

CSO: 2300

EAST GERMANY

BRIEFS

TV AGREEMENT WITH FRANCE--Expansion of program exchange, support of correspondents and camera groups, and preparation of guest productions and coproductions are provided for in an agreement which took place in [East] Berlin between GDR Television and the French national television company TF. On the basis of the agreement, signed by Heinz Adameck, chairman of the GDR State Committee for Television, and Jean Cazeneuve, president of the French television company, there will be exchange of know-how in the production of programs and joint telecasts of classical music. [Text]
[East Berlin FF DABEI in German No 2, Jan 77 p 3]

CSO: 2300

HUNGARY

CHARACTERISTICS OF RELIGIOUS NEWSPAPERS DESCRIBED

Budapest THE NEW HUNGARIAN QUARTERLY in English No 63 Autumn 1976 pp 142-147

[Text] Sixteen church newspapers are published in Hungary. Four of them are weeklies: UJ EMBER ("The New Man": Catholic); REFORMATUSOK LAPJA ("The Calvinist Paper"), EVANGELIKUS ELET ("Evangelical Life": Lutheran) and BEKEBIRNOK ("Peace Herald": jointly published by small denominations which, before the liberation, were described as sects or "non-established" Churches). Other periodicals are the quarterly UNITARIUS ELET ("Unitarian Life": 2,000 circulation) and ADVENTISTA TAJEKOZTATO ("Adventist Bulletin") published every other month.

The Catholic papers have the greatest circulation (more than 100,000 copies per issue all told), the Catholic Church having the greatest number of faithful. Among the smaller denominations the Adventists and the Orthodox have newspapers of their own: EGYBAZI KRONIKA ("Church Chronicle") has a circulation of 500, and the afore-mentioned ADVENTISTA TAJEKOZTATO is printed in 100 copies every 2 months.

The 16 church papers essentially differ: the majority have small circulations. They are inward-looking and largely of parish pump nature; the smaller the denomination the more likely they are to be that. They contain theological articles, and meditations addressed to the faithful, meditation with writings from the faithful and members of the clergy.

The highest standards amongst these publications are reached by VIGILIA, a monthly published by Catholic Action. It has a circulation of 11,200 and acts as a forum of the dialogue between Catholic Christians and Marxists. The editor is Gyorgy Ronay, an eminent poet, novelist, essayist and translator.

VIGILIA is a typically intellectual periodical. It publishes articles on theoretical questions, fiction, reportage and criticism, of art and music as well. The record reviews are particularly noteworthy since this is a feature that is unusual in Hungarian papers. More recently reproductions were printed on the back cover--works by living Hungarian artists linked to a particular contribution.

The first two articles of the February 1976 issue are devoted to the dialogue between believers and Marxists. Msg Jozsef Cserhati, Bishop of Pecs, entitles his contribution "Those Committed to Dialogue." Bela Hegyi, who writes regularly for the paper, deals with the subject in a review of a recently published collection of articles and speeches by Janos Kadar. Bela Hegyi writes: "Christians are ready for a dialogue and this means also that they are committed to socialism. Accepting dialogue in our country means accepting social progress. This reflects the political attitude of the participants. The expected and actual outcome of the dialogue therefore depend in part on the position the partners take up concerning the policy of alliance.... To us the alternative of dialogue is not an alternative of faith or unbelief, what it offers one or the other side is not the apologetics of conversion, but service of all those values which society has thus far created for the benefit of all and which it holds dear for the future as well.... A narrow attitude in this field also necessarily entails all the harmful aspects of human, institutional and intellectual isolation which would slow down the steady and planned attainment of a more developed stage of society. 'We have to continue discussing so that the alliance should strengthen,' writes Janos Kadar." Bela Hegyi raises the question: What can Christianity represent in the dialogue? "Exclusively its original objectives: its cultural and social functions. It has a role to play in the humanization of human relations, in the development of the sense of solidarity, in order that human relations should lead to superior human qualities in the individual; it may assist in efforts at making the life of communities--families, jobs, generations--more harmonious and more honest; helping to elucidate the moral questions of our age and our society. It may contribute to educating people for peace and patriotism, to developing respect for humanity making it an everyday notion and a manifest universality."

VIGILIA helps to make accessible modern Christian theological and philosophical literature. The March 1976 issue, for example, publishes the concluding part of a long essay by Teilhard de Chardin, "My Universe," on the exploration of the internal structure of the world, and the same number includes an article by Father Yves Congar, "Some True Laws of the Pastoral Attitude," obviously because this question is one that agitates the Hungarian Catholic press as a whole. The paper contains an extended review of Professor Tamas Nyiri's new history of philosophy, lately issued by the Catholic publishers, Saint Stephen's Society. The reviewer judges it to be a major contribution to the life of the intellect in Hungary.

VIGILIA is eager to join its voice in discussions going on in the Hungarian press; the March issue, for instance, publishes a commentary under the title "Why Is Mathematics Difficult?" by Jozsef Pogany, a Piarist father and mathematician, to a discussion of educational reform that has been going on for some years. Father Ferenc Szabo S. J., head of the Hungarian section of Vatican Radio, comments on a Hungarian television programme--an interview with Valeria Dienes, the philosopher who is over 95.

Permanent contributors include leading Hungarian intellectuals known beyond the country's borders, such as Janos Pilinszky the poet, and Gabor Thurzo the writer of fiction. The February 1976 issue includes a memorial of the Catholic woman writer, Gizella Denes, by Thurzo, written in a poetic vein. A recent minor sensation were serialized notes Bago: Ramblings With a Puli, by Zoltan Latinovits the actor, who has often provoked passionate controversy.

Looking over back numbers one comes across articles, poems and interviews by a good number of writers and poets known also to readers of the NHQ. They include Dezso Keresztury and Istvan Vas, who are also members of the editorial board of this paper.

The Christian-Marxist dialogue is, of course, carried on in every Church paper. The essence is how religious denominations should adapt themselves to the social structure of socialist Hungary. This exchange of views is particularly important from the angle of the Catholic Church in Hungary which has managed to make a break with the past though this was not easy. With the translation of Msg Laszlo Lekai to the See of Esztergom and the Primacy of the Catholic Church in Hungary, an era has come to an end. The hierarchy of the Church is complete once again. VIGILIA, like the rest of the press, publishes the archbishop's statement which one could read as a programme declaration. KATOLIKUS SZO ("Catholic Voice": the fortnightly of the Catholic Committee of the National Peace Council) in its 14-21 March 1976 issue publishes in full the sermons delivered at the investiture. It may not be without interest to quote Msg Lekai himself: "At the side of the faithful of many denominations large numbers of non-believers live in Hungary enjoying the impetus provided by leadership. Faithful and non-believers all put their shoulder to the wheel to further the welfare of our country. Ideologically, however, we basically differ. For a non-believer as well, what he thinks of the world is part of the dynamism making this Earth more beautiful. To us faithful Catholics, as well as to our brethren of different denominations, our own religious view of things is our most sacred treasure. It gives us fortitude for the conscientious performance of our daily work through which our love of God and man unfolds. We hope that our brief span of life will not fall into extinction but we will find rest in the loving arms of our Provident Father and Everlasting God. We faithful Catholics respect the ideology of our unbelieving Hungarian brethren. But we expect them likewise to respect our religious beliefs, the free exercise of which is guaranteed to us by the Constitution of the Hungarian People's Republic."

This event will obviously occupy the attention of the Catholic press for a long time. The very same number of KATOLIKUS SZO reports a conference of young priests of Zala County: "These young men listen to the radio, watch television and read the newspapers with interest. Their souls are not exclusive worlds, they form their own opinion on everything. They obviously breathed the same air and ate the same bread as other Hungarians. This is why they spoke of the objectives of the entire country as of their own affairs.... There was talk also of the esteem enjoyed in our society

by the Church and its representatives, the priesthood. The agreements and the recent appointment of the archbishop signify in practice that today, in spite of ideological differences, we also are valued precisely for the common work of construction."

This debate will never be closed. Under the title "The Damage and Purity of Debate" Bela Hegyi wrote in the 14 March 1976 issue of UJ EMBER: "There exists only one trust-inspiring alternative for us: if non-believers throw off their vulgar, dogmatic anti-religiousness, and the faithful shed their militant apologetics, and this without either of them forcing their views on the other, but confront each other's views, arguing their truth on equal terms, thinking together about possibilities, making the most they can of the intellectual storehouse opened up by their meeting." Bela Hegyi replies to an article, "Unity and Dissimilarity," by Jozsef Lukacs, a Marxist philosopher and historian of religion, which appeared in the December 1975 issue of VILAGOSSAG, a materialist ideological review which he edits and which formulated the essence of the position of today's criticism of religion in Hungary as follows: "...what corresponds ideologically to this revolutionary, practical endeavour is not the mere negation of God, the disproof of His existence by reasonable arguments, but first of all the evolution of a positive, dialectical and materialistic view of nature and society which requires active men building socialism. The discussion with religion from this positive angle is conducted rather against the social regulators inferred from God, for the demonstration of their true social role and meaning, and not against the existence of God.... A discussion which leaves out of account that the vast majority of the faithful in Hungary have a positive attitude towards peace and socialism. That which excludes the spirit of dialogue does harm to the fulfillment of our historical aims and to the propagation of the Marxist ideology. A discussion which is conducted against religious people and not for their sake, nor for the satisfaction of their needs and for their human perfection, would only lead to sectarian isolation while violating the policy of alliance and our general political principles." This is the position of Marxists, this is the basis on which the present relationship of Church and State has been established and will evidently be capable of being developed further in the recently opened, undeniably new, era. Bela Hegyi answers: "Therefore our main task still consists in pulling down the walls of isolation erected by ideological tensions and resentments, in exemplifying as widely as possible the unity and dissimilarity of words and deeds, and collaboration in all essential fields of life. Awakening to intellectual consciousness is called for along the whole front of the dialogue."

The Catholic press is not, of course, filled with writings of this type. For example, the number of UJ EMBER referred to above, in addition to Bela Hegyi's article, publishes in detail the Vatican's statement on sexual morality, continues the series of religious instruction for the adults under the title "The World of Our Faith," comments on articles of the daily press in the column "Through Catholic Eyes," publishes letters to the editor and news in brief from the world of Catholicism. On 14 March 1976 KATOLIKUS SZO published a report: Peter Domokos Toth visited old priests in their homes.

Pastoral work is obviously of great concern for the Catholic Church: it depends on this whether the Church succeeds in adjusting itself to the life of modern, socialist Hungary. *TEOLOGIA* devotes the best part of its June 1974 number to this question. One of the articles, which might pass for a short sociological survey, relates conversations with Budapest clergymen. Dr Miklos Magass, the parish priest of Obuda who now works in the new housing development established in the place of the recently demolished town centre of Obuda, says: "The past has suddenly been replaced by the future without transition. Here a radical change is needed also in pastoral work as well. So far the flock had been expected to follow the pastor. Now the pastor has to look for the faithful. The people who live here have become alienated even from themselves. They got rid of the old furniture and the holy pictures with them, they made an entrance into modern life with new possessions and new attitudes. But they will fall ill here as well, they will need a priest, sick calls will be required and funerals, but there will be christening as well as weddings.... I've been on good terms with the local council right from the start, I am active in the People's Front, I know all the official bodies well, for Obuda is like a small town. Thanks to this I have obtained permission to go and see the new residents and ask them if they wish to join our parish.... This is an existential quest for our pastoral work. The reconstruction of this housing estate would have otherwise broken links with our flock."

Bela Fulop, priest-in-charge of the Sacred Heart Church at Kispest, a working-class and lower-middle-class district where there are still many small cottages, says: "Old people are of great value to us. There are many of them and they like to go to church. They provide most of the money and help in kind as well. Elderly women do much. They do the sacristan's work and are willing to help in every way. I try to strike the right note, solve problems that arise, and make the church and its surroundings a home from home. At times we have coffee together, on Saturdays they decorate the church. Then they open their hearts to me, and talk about their complaints. That is when I work out what to put in my sermons. I can see in advance how they will react.... I celebrate everyone's name-day with them, and so they can feel they are really colleagues, working for the Church on the inside. I should like in this way to make the spirit of Saint Paul's Churches come true."

The new Hungarian Protestant Bible translation is the subject that currently occupies the Calvinist press. The monthly *REFORMATUS EGYBAZ*, in its December 1975 number, gives an account of the history of Hungarian Bible translations. The first Hungarian Protestant Bible translation, which was the first complete Hungarian Bible, appeared in 1590. The beauty of its language and its influence over the centuries gave it great importance in the history of culture and literature. Many look on it as a major source of the Hungarian literary language and of Hungarian prose. Its style still reverberates in much that is written today. The Karoli Bible is thus comparable in importance to the Authorized Version. The first revision was made as far back as 1608, the next taking place in 1685. The Protestant Churches now use the revision of 1908. The revision of 1908 only postponed a new Hungarian Bible translation. In the early 1930's the

British and Foreign Bible Society again decided to revise the Karoli text. The new version was published in 1938; it tried to preserve treasured expressions while eliminating archaisms. The text was not based on uniform principles, but it could not be refined until after the war. Then the British and Foreign Bible Society asked the Calvinist Church of Hungary to prepare a new text. The Calvinists wished to do this in an ecumenical spirit, and created the Hungarian Bible Council for the purpose. By 1951 the expert committee on the New Testament had finished the revision of the relevant part of the Karoli Bible, but precisely during revision it became evident that the revision of the Karoli Bible could not be continued without abandoning the characteristics of the Karoli text. The first experimental sections of the new translation were issued by the New Testament committee in 1966 and by the Old Testament committee in 1967. "Acceptance of the new Bible translation by the congregations is not a matter of course. A great deal of tact is required especially in its introduction for liturgical use. Therefore the Hungarian Bible Council has decided to leave it to the member Churches of the Hungarian Ecumenical Council when and how they will authorize the new translation for use in their own churches. The Synod of the Calvinist Church of Hungary holds that it should be up to congregations to decide on the liturgical use of the new translation. Therefore the 1908 revision of the Karoli Bible will remain in official use even after the publication of the new translation as long as this is the wish of a congregation," writes Elemer Kocsis in the official organ of the Calvinist Church of Hungary. Getting the new Bible accepted must obviously be of concern to the Church, since its weekly, REFORMATUSOK LAPJA, has started a column "What is your opinion?" publishing replies from ministers and lay members alike who, without exception, speak of it in terms of enthusiastic praise.

REFORMATUS EGYBAZ in its December 1975 number covered an important event: the consecration of the new Calvinist church in Debrecen. It was an important event because, as Bishop Barthas said in his sermon, "This church is a token and proof of the good relationship that exist between the Calvinist Church of Hungary and the socialist Hungarian State." The church had suffered war damage in 1944. As the congregation was not in a position to renovate the fairly large building, too large for its purposes, the church ought to have been demolished, and the congregation would have been left without a place of worship. In this awkward predicament the congregation, in agreement with the Church authorities, appealed to the government: they offered the church building to the university and requested instead the erection of a new house of worship at the government's expense. "In this church we see a symbol of the aspirations of the Hungarian Calvinists affected by the new Reformation: the congregation and the Church authorities agreed to use the new church to remind us of a great Christian martyr of modern times, Martin Luther King, Jr., the Baptist minister who fought against racial discrimination.... This church, standing in memory of Martin Luther King, is a sign showing that our Church is on the side of the forces fighting for mankind. With the help of the Holy Ghost, Hungarian Calvinism has heard and accepted with open heart a voice calling

to renewal, for a new Reformation: 'Suffer conversion.' This is why the Church does not cease to ask the Lord for renewal for itself and wishes to be an instrument of the new Reformation for the benefit of others.

LELKIPASZTOR ("Pastor") is a Lutheran monthly for parsons which has a circulation of 850. It has been published for more than 50 years. Here are the contents of an earlier number dated July 1973: "Diaconal Theology," "A Salute to Petofi," "The Lutheran Church in Hungary," "The Age of the Reformation," "Anticommunism in Theology and in Ecumenism," "Book Review," "The Departed," "The Evangelizer's Workshop--the 10th, 11th, 12th and 13th Sundays following Trinity Sunday."

Articles on Jehovah's Witnesses often appear in the Lutheran press. The obvious reason is that Lutherans who leave the flock tend to come under the influence of the Witnesses. "The other day a neurotic woman, who had for years avoided our congregational functions and had not paid the church tax either, showed up in the vestry in company with the local leader of Jehovah's Witnesses and a young man. She announced gesticulating ecstatically: 'I have found the truth!'" writes pastor Janos Milan in his article "Jehovah's Witnesses" published in LELKIPASZTOR of July 1974, and continues by describing the teachings of Jehovah's Witnesses and advancing arguments against them: "...let us be prepared and inform the members of our congregation properly, warning them against the unexpected visit of the false preacher. Experience shows that the best way is for our brethren to reject the first attempt promptly and categorically by saying that we have no need for any new teaching. We are satisfied with Christ and his grace and love..."

UJ ELET ("The New Life"), the paper of the Hungarian Jews, appears twice a month in 7,000 copies. The 15 February 1976 issue begins with an editorial by Chief Rabbi Miklos Mate, "On Harmony." Let us quote: "Long ago the Jewish prophets told with firm conviction that in time, men will turn their swords into ploughshares and their spears into vine-pruning knives, they will not draw sword against others, nor will they make war. This teaching originates in the eighth century B.C. How much time has passed since, and how many people have worked towards this end! And what of it has come true? Practically nothing. It is still a current, difficult problem of our days to make the good come out on top, helping it triumph. Many are fighting for this. Idealists, materialists, politicians, statesmen, believers, non-believers, writers, artists, and scholars. Our weapons in this struggle are the weapons of faith and love, and the training of man for love. These are strong and reliable weapons that may enable man to work wonders."

UJ ELET devotes more space and interest than other Hungarian newspapers to the still continuing trials of Nazi war criminals. The above mentioned issue reports in detail on a trial in Hanover and the sentence pronounced. The past is present in every page: the paper commemorates the dead, known or nameless. This number prints a memorial of Bela Revesz, a writer who perished in Auschwitz. Laszlo Palasti interviews the Public Prosecutor of the Szalasi trial, on the occasion of the publication of Laszlo Frank's memoirs, ZOLD AR ("Green Flood"), which deals with the trial and execution of Ferenc Szalasi, the Hungarian Arrow-cross leader.

The Jewish paper also writes on the relationship of Church and State. The occasion was presented by Janos Kadar's visit in District VII of Budapest, of which the wartime Jewish ghetto had formed part. UJ ELET writes: "Janos Kadar has rightly pointed out that every possibility exists for the sound carrying out of local and national, immediate and more distant tasks and for unbroken progress. He did not add in particular, but this follows logically from his words and from all that is implied in his words, that to attain this development we have to do our work with still more attention, strengthening our attitude and keenness. The unity of believers and non-believers, of the various strata of Hungarian society, their more profound solidarity and common action are needed in order for us to achieve, rapidly, and well, what in the scientific and political idiom is called the building of developed socialism."

BEKEBIRNOK ("Messenger of Peace"), the organ of the Baptist Church of Hungary as well as of the other Free Churches, appears weekly with a circulation of 5,500 copies. It includes a relatively large proportion of devotional writing, religious meditations and sermons that seek to guide the faithful in everyday life.

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NEMETH COMMENTS ON CHANGING ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

Budapest THE NEW HUNGARIAN QUARTERLY in English No 64 Winter 1976 pp 18-27

[Article by Karoly Nemeth: "Changing Conditions and Expectations in the Hungarian Economy"--Address delivered by Karoly Nemeth, Secretary to the Central Committee and member of the Political Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party at a meeting of the Society of Hungarian Economists at Zalaegerszeg, July 1976]

[Text] This meeting is doing something most important and timely in this, the starting year of the Fifth Five-Year Plan, when it set as its objective to survey resources and factors making for growth, including the changes therein, thus in its own way, helping to clarify what has to be done. Deliberations are closely linked to an understanding of economic policy and to the implementation of unity of action. Incentives have to be worked out which will aid a more efficient exploitation of the sources of growth. This will have to be properly founded by economists, a highly responsible task for both those specialising in theory, as well as economists who concentrate on practical questions.

The party has always devoted special attention to economic growth. This was done, and continues to be done in the awareness that there is no part of social activity that does not closely depend on performance in production. Economic performance naturally is influenced in a crucial way by science and scholarship, that is the standards reached by economics of training and education, political and professional skills: to put it briefly, that of social activity as such. Economic plans are therefore part of building a socialist society.

The Fifth Five-Year Plan, in keeping with the resolutions of the 11th Congress, declared the sort of dynamic growth to be the major objective of economic policy which will be the result of a forceful improvement in social productivity. Economic growth is a question to which close attention is being devoted. This makes sense since economic growth is one of the most tangible elements of economic development, one of its quantitative exponents, and a condition for satisfying needs at a higher level. It is obvious therefore that socialist society is vitally interested in dynamic economic growth, both from the political and the economic aspect.

It would be a great mistake however to oversimplify things, treating the growth rate as a quantitative index; becoming spell-bound by the desire to score high at all costs. Economic growth is a qualitative category, the synthesis of various aspects of economic activity, and the common expression of their degree of efficiency. Economic growth must be ensured in the long-term, the creation of new resources must if possible be done at a steady rate, in such a way that the relationship between production and the satisfaction of requirements should meanwhile improve continuously. Growth that found expression in unsold stocks would not get us anywhere. The experiences of an earlier period have their own cautionary tale to tell. The need to make some changes in just that kind of situation, and to improve the relationship between production and demand was one of the things that triggered off the reform in the system of economic guidance. The performance of that reformed system largely fulfilled expectations in that particular field. Speaking with hindsight one can say that if the economic reform had done no more than significantly improve the conditions under which production could be coordinated with demand it would have accomplished a great deal to improve the quality of economic growth. It ought to be said, however, that its favourable effects were very much greater and much more far-reaching.

The realistically attainable order of magnitude of economic growth thus has severely circumscribed limits. The relationship with developmental equilibria is very close, and this goes for production as well as for consumption, international economic relations, investment and credit arrangements. It would be wrong to try and achieve a fast rate of growth at the expense of economic equilibrium.

The quality of growth also largely depends on the nature of investments, on growing resources being deployed on improvements in the structure of production that are necessary, and in keeping with the nature of available facilities, that is on the degree to which development is effective, resulting in a rise in technological standards and labour productivity.

The relationship between economic activity in the narrow etymological sense of the term and economic growth is very close. That is, it really matters how well resources, the labour force, equipment and material are husbanded.

The order of magnitude and rises in consumption are also essential. It is no secret that consumption spurs on economic growth. What must be done therefore is to operate all the sources of economic growth at maximum pitch, coordinating the factors involved in an optimum manner. That is the way to maintain the dynamism of economic growth.

The Fifth Hungarian Five-Year Plan prescribes an annual growth of 5.4-5.7 percent in national income terms. This fits in well with the process of economic development, carrying on an established trend. For 15 years, between 1961 and 1975, national income grew at an average yearly rate of 5.8 percent.

The Growth Rate

The figure prescribed does not significantly differ from that of earlier years. What then can be said to be specific of the years to come, looked at from the growth angle? The answer is that the rate can only be maintained at the expense of much greater efforts than before. Conditions can be expected to be much tougher, and productivity must be improved considerably if there are to be results. All this requires work of a qualitatively higher standard, and it does so throughout society.

At the time when growth factors were being considered in the course of preparatory work for the Fifth Five-Year Plan directives, the conclusion was reached that essential changes had occurred in these factors and the conditions of growth at home and abroad.

A growth in the work force ceased to be an important factor. It can be increased by no more than 2-3 percent a year. Various industries will have to improve labour productivity considerably in order to produce 30-32 percent more national income within 5 years than they did in 1975, with unchanged numbers, in some places even employing fewer than before. Growth will be fed almost exclusively by intensive factors: technological progress, improved work performance and more efficient management, as well as a competent transformation of the factors of production; in other words essential improvements in economic efficiency.

Changes in the world economy also demand more from the Hungarian economy. The rise in the price of raw materials and the resulting shift in relative prices caused a major absolute loss to the Hungarian economy, which was further increased by gaps in economic management, this is a weak link in the Hungarian economic structure causing lower standards of economic efficiency than justified by the limitations imposed by what is possible. Outside markets apply a stricter measure to Hungarian products than heretofore. The ability to adjust to such requirements and demands must be improved.

Changed world market conditions lend their own specific features to investment and development policy. The share of fuel, raw materials and mining industries in general is increased, and these demand large investments that do not show quick returns. Relatively less than earlier can be spent on processing industries and agriculture. This is an essential cause of tension in the Fifth Five-Year Plan, and efforts must be made to ease it. Ways must be found to extend the financial sources needed to ensure faster growth in the processing industries, and even more so in agriculture and the food processing industry. Basic economic and political interests are involved. Tight credit facilities not only make it all the more important that investment activities be efficient, but it becomes increasingly imperative as well to make most efficient use of existing factors of production, to exploit all reserves, and to show the greatest possible discipline in operation.

A growth rate like that of the recent past can only be achieved if decisions are circumspect and based on sound economic considerations, if management is more efficient, and if the structure of production can elastically adjust itself to changed conditions. Much more must be done, and in more diverse ways than heretofore in order to maintain the existing dynamism of economic growth. One might ask though, and with some justification, to what extent the here outlined conditions of progress are new, and whether some sort of new idea is needed to help cope with all that lies ahead. The answer is unambiguous. Changes in the conditions of growth and development were present earlier as well--even apart from the transformations the world economy has undergone--and were largely predictable. It is just 10 years ago that the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party declared in its resolution on the reform of the system of economic guidance that the sources of extensive economic progress were about to be exhausted, that intensive factors had to be stressed and that the role of foreign trade in economic development was increasing. The need to improve the system of economic guidance was declared to drive precisely from changes in these circumstances.

The increasingly determining role of intensive factors of growth was thus recognised, and not merely recognised, they were successfully exploited, though not to the extent that was possible or necessary. Labour productivity improved by more than 6 percent over the past 5 years, and yet productivity levels fell behind both what was possible and what was achieved by countries of similar developmental standards. Progress was made regarding the structure of production. It was modernized and made more adaptable to changing needs, but there again what was done was done more slowly than necessary or possible. The structure of production does not take its cue from the world market as quickly as it should. The organization of production has improved but there is scope for a great deal more in this field as well, and there are facts and figures to back this.

The responsible authorities worked out a proper economic policy for the intensive stage of economic growth. It is still valid and future work will be done on that basis as well. What is specific for the years to come is that the role of the intensive factors having grown further in importance, they have to be made effective with greater weight, together, in a more coordinated manner, more quickly and systematically than heretofore. The country's economic policy must be implemented systematically and effectively. This demands continued attention to economic policy, making adjustments where needed in keeping with the objectives of the Fifth Five-Year Plan and the aims included in the Party Programme.

Central Direction and Enterprise Independence

It is absolutely necessary that efficiency in the planned direction of the economy be improved. This means both improved efficiency in central direction, and the maintenance and further development of enterprise independence, responsibility and initiative. It is most important that one get this right,

seeing the job as an indivisible unity. One sometimes experiences confusion in this area, and yet it was already established by the resolution on the reform of the system of economic guidance that "on the one hand the major objectives of economic development, and their weight, would continue to be centrally decided, ensuring their implementation more effectively than heretofore by combining the appropriate instruments; on the other considerable scope will be given within the total mechanism of the socialist economy... to the actual commodity relations between producers and consumers." The 11th Congress of the Party also stressed the linked up and joint development of central direction and enterprise independence and responsibility.

Directives designed to produce economic growth, improvements in efficiency and a rise in standards of management demand considerable circumspection and careful planning. Unambiguous priority must be given to the national economic interest. It naturally follows that the central planning of major economic processes is accorded a decisive role in ensuring planned economic development. National economic plans must therefore be improved, central decisions must increasingly be based on scientific considerations, and the operation of central authorities must be better coordinated, that is economic processes must be guided in full awareness of all that is involved. In other words the sort of staff work must be improved which is required both by growth and economic equilibrium.

To interpret this as a relegation of enterprise independence and responsibility would be to altogether misinterpret the task ahead. There is central interference in economic processes in the interests of carrying out central objectives, but any action on matters of detail by central authorities that interferes with the sphere of competence of enterprises and cooperatives, is disapproved of. The national economic interest and the character of the tasks ahead demand that enterprises maintain their responsibilities for development and discovery of reserve resources and the adaptation to changing requirements. Their responsibility for decisions taken must be increased, it should be possible to rely increasingly on their initiative, and they should feel increasingly that it is in their moral and financial interest to work efficiently. A reluctance to understand this causes damages and handicaps the country in reaching its economic objectives. It is therefore opposed to the party's economic policy.

The Work Force

I already mentioned that the possibilities of increasing the labour force are limited. It is common knowledge that, over the next 5 years industry can reckon with a more or less unchanged work force, numbers in the building industry and transport will increase slightly, those in the servicing industries slightly faster, while fewer will be employed in agriculture. Much will therefore have to be done to ensure that the best possible use is made of the live work force, the most important factor of production. Job and labour-organization perhaps contain the largest reserves that can

still be mobilized, that is the available work force must be better exploited and employed in ways that accord with the requirements of an efficiently operating economy. It is therefore most important that the relevant directives within the national plan should be properly supported by enterprise plans, and concrete measures on the central and enterprise level. In this way the minimum annual 6 percent growth in productivity would be properly backed.

Household Plots

It is a basic interest to discover all hidden reserves mobilizing them in the service of growth. This can only be done if economic policy is properly defended, unambiguously supported, and systematically implemented. The recent past provided ample proof. Some deviated from the tested and correct economic policy of the party in practice creating an unsound atmosphere amongst household plot producers, and this created tremendous problems and serious damage. Fully exploiting the potential of household plots, and increasing guarantees for production and sales are in the national economic interest, being of basic importance. Household plot production is not some sort of foreign body in socialism; on the contrary, it is an organic part of the operation of socialist agroenterprises and, thanks to the country's agricultural policy, household plot production serves the general interest of the economy and society as a whole.

Standards of Management

Much can be done to raise standards of management and organization both in enterprises and cooperatives. Work has started in the field of job and labour organization, it must be continued and be extended to a nationwide scale. Inter-enterprise relations will have to be better organized. This could be a most important contribution towards raising economic efficiency, and it also deserves more attention than it has so far been given.

Investment and Progress in Technology

The national economic plan provides for a 26-percent increase in investments over a 5 year period, that is a much smaller figure than in earlier five-year plans. An essential improvement of work connected with investments is thus a necessary condition for planned economic growth. Decisions must be more thoroughly considered and implementation must be better planned. There must be a better coordination all round between the interests of those who commission work, the planners, and the building contractors. Major reserves could be mobilized if new investments are appropriately prepared and implemented in a planned way, reducing the time taken. Particular attention must be given to investments that are designed to increase exports to capitalist countries, improving Hungary's competitiveness on world markets, or to such as will economically reduce imports from that source, producing quick returns. Close attention must be given to the work of economists, and the measures that follow from it, which further all such endeavours.

The science to technology transfer has increasing importance in economic growth. R and D and production must be brought into a closer relationship and the time-spans involved should be reduced. Research in industry, and the establishment of experimental plants should be accorded closer attention. Dispersion of R and D should be reduced and an end should be put to duplications that are still frequent in research. There ought to be more concentration, ensuring that research be one of the key areas of inter-enterprise relations. The importance of licences and know-how in raising standards should not be neglected, and the potentialities of cooperation with CEMA countries should be better exploited in this respect.

The planned rate of economic growth can be considered as realistic and well-founded from the resources angle. Prescriptions presume however that concrete and coordinated measures, integrated in plans, were taken at every level of production or management to improve economic efficiency. If internal resources and improvements in efficiency produced a greater than planned growth rate in the course of implementation, this surplus would have to find expression in products of a quality and structure that allowed for an economic growth in exports, leading to greater competitiveness on world markets and, as a result, a firmer economic equilibrium.

International Relations

Growing international contacts and intensive participation in the international division of labour are important factors contributing to economic growth. As far as Hungary is concerned taking part in the international division of labour is not merely a means of securing the imports necessary for a production surplus, but an important instrument in raising national income, establishing optimum scales of production, and development that is coordinated with the needs of the structure of production and international choice in consumption goods. Hungary is also vitally interested in international economic relations not merely offering direct short-term advantages. They should be stable over the long-term and lend themselves to planning. This explains why economic relations with the socialist countries, and the Soviet Union in particular will continue to have the greatest weight. The interests of the country at the same time demand a considerable extension of economic relations with developing and capitalist countries; including cooperation in production that goes well beyond trade in the conventional sense. Greater activity is necessary in this respect, and this applies equally to relations with socialist and capitalist countries.

Changes in the Structure of Production

The national economic plan determined the key areas where structural changes were needed, both in agriculture and in the food-processing industry. What are needed are intra-industry rather than inter-industry changes, and the aim must be a rise in technological and economic standards of production. Those working at various levels of production and management will have to carry out what was prescribed by the plan, using the proper circumspection to

carry out changes in the product-structure in the interests of improving production and sales. Allow me to repeat that such activities are the implementation of one of the most important qualitative requirements of economic growth. This is a key question in improving competitiveness on world markets and in restoring economic equilibrium.

The Role of Economists

Let me conclude by saying a few words about the increased importance of economists--both those doing research and those more directly involved in practice--and of managers.

The policy of the party is based on scientific work. A fundamental condition of achievements so far, and of future achievements as well is the ability to recognize the objective laws of social development, and to bear them in mind when formulating aims and taking decisions. Creating an integrated programme of action that will mobilize social forces is crucial. It is necessary then to create conditions favourable to scientific research, including the right creative atmosphere, but it is equally necessary that policy should fully exploit what science has to offer. One can say that the party has to the greatest possible extent created conditions favourable for scientific research in the past as well, and will also do so in the future, in turn relying on the results so obtained when formulating policy. This is exemplified by the research scientists and practical men coopted when various important resolutions on economic policy were being prepared. At present as well several hundred economists collaborate with a number of committees that are considering economic questions.

This of course increases the responsibilities of those doing research, economists included, regarding their choice of subject. Do these serve economic policy, do they go deeply enough into the moving springs of progress, analysing the situation and the possibilities of future progress? The responsibility of managers grows as well, regarding the degree they are able to implement in their own fields, supporting it by concrete decisions and measures.

It is well known that conditions of economic progress, at home and abroad, underwent major changes in recent years. I should therefore like to draw attention to certain key questions that will have to be researched.

One is the likely shaping of outside conditions over the next 10 to 15 years. Developmental trends in the socialist countries are particularly important, as well as their possible closer link with Hungarian economic developments. It is equally important to study likely changes in capitalist markets and the advantages they offer, not to mention the possibilities of extending contacts.

Conditions at home must be studied as well. The economy has reached a stage of intensive growth which is likely to last for some time. The economic structure, technological development, the use made of the labour

force, and the husbanding of the factors of production must all be adjusted to the resulting requirements. Working out long-term developmental trends in the price, wages and income systems is also a most important task.

Attention will necessarily be concentrated on the tasks outlined. Ways of overcoming difficulties and contradictions will be investigated. The conditions for economic progress have become tougher. This demands more from everyone, more disciplined work of better quality. This must be remembered as much as all the work done which deserves recognition, on which future progress is based, I mention this because I am convinced that loyal socialists, including economists, know of no greater spur than an awareness that honest work makes sense and that they share in results achieved by all the workers pulling together. The work and knowledge of Hungarian economists also finds expression in the results achieved.

CSO: 2020

HUNGARY

AGRICULTURE MINISTER ADDRESSES COOPERATIVES CONGRESS

Budapest MTI in English 1743 GMT 15 Dec 76 LD

[Text] Budapest, 15 Dec, MTI--The Third Congress of Hungarian Agricultural Cooperatives continued Wednesday morning in the Budapest parliament building. Pal Losonczi, member of the HSWP Political Committee, president of the Presidential Council and deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers Ferenc Havasi took their seats in the Presidium.

The Wednesday programme began with preparations for the election of the leading organs of the cooperative movement.

One of the speakers in the debate over the report was minister of agriculture and food Dr Pal Romany.

"The progress made by the peasantry and the development of agriculture in Hungary were duly praised as well as criticized at the 11th Congress of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party last year," the minister said. "The social and economic transformation that took place in the course of socialist building turned Hungary into an industrial country with developed agriculture. In 15 years agricultural output has doubled and the methods and means, and in many ways the aims, of agricultural production have changed. The gross production value of agriculture is about 50 percent higher than 15 years ago, and it is double the figure before the liberation of the country. It is a fact, however, that the national economy, the consumers and export demand even more. Just like [words indistinct] national economy, agriculture and food industry have faced disadvantages in the wake of the unfavourable world economic trends, and they have been hit by bad weather in addition. This way agriculture and food industry will not produce the results planned for this year. The degree of fulfillment and non-fulfillment is different in the different sectors and branches.

"The unfavourable weather did not make its harmful effect felt everywhere. Despite the drought we had excellent crops of bread grains.

"Per cow milk yield has never grown so much as this year. It has become a realistic target to exceed the 3,000-litre annual yield per cow on a national average in a few years, which will be a considerable result compared with the present low standard. We hope that the process started this year will be only the beginning of a lasting and sure improvement in both cattle breeding and in the other branches of animal husbandry."

Then the minister spoke about financial matters, mentioning that the state has granted extensive help to the farms worst hit by the drought. The unfavourable tendencies developing in animal husbandry have been stopped and signs of an improvement can be seen in several places.

He said the principal task facing agriculture remains the fulfillment of the Fifth Five-Year Plan. It is also a major target to solve old problems like decrease in the stock of cows, fluctuation in the domestic pig population, vegetable growing--its insufficient quantity and choice, or at least improve the situation considerably.

In analysing the 1977 plan targets set for agriculture, the minister said the state farms intend to increase their output by more than 15 percent that year. Though there are no data available of the cooperatives as yet, it is necessary for a 7 or 8 percent national rate that the cooperatives reach a considerable higher rate of increase than that.

Overexploitation is no longer desirable in the use of cropping systems and it is unnecessary to develop new systems while the existing ones will be enlarged only in the most justified cases. On the other hand, the systems used in horticulture and animal husbandry as well as those helping the production of rough fodder and bulk feed will be further expanded. The conditions are ripe for developing more developed forms of organization and establishing associations and joint enterprises with a large part of the production, especially the cropping systems.

Speaking about the importance of the domestic farms, the minister called to mind that recently the government took several measures to help domestic and auxiliary farms. Cooperatives and state farms are both expected to support domestic farming, Dr Pal Romany said.

At the end of his speech the minister spoke about the tried and tested agricultural policy of the HSWP, praising the support of the working class and the achievements of the peasantry.

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